

# THE LANCET

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## BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The next Meeting will be held at NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, commencing on Wednesday, August 26th, 1863, under the Presidency of Sir W. G. ARMSTRONG, F.R.S.

Notices of Communications intended to be read to the Association, accompanied by a statement whether or not the Author will be present at the Meeting, may be addressed to G. Griffith, M.A., Assistant General Secretary, Jesus College, Oxford, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; or to Captain Noble; Augustus H. Hunt, Esq.; R. G. Clapham, Esq., Local Secretaries, 5, Grey-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE, M.A. F.R.S.,  
General Treasurer,  
19, Chester-street, Belgrave-square, London, S.W.

## BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

THIRTY-THIRD MEETING,  
TO BE HELD AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 26th Aug. 1863.

Secretaries' Office, Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, July, 1863.

The Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for this year, will be held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and will commence on Wednesday, the 26th of August next, under the Presidency of Sir W. G. ARMSTRONG, F.R.S.

On this occasion it is expected that many of the Corresponding Members of the Association (to all of whom invitations have been sent), and a large number of British Members will be present. Invitations have been accepted to visit the Lead Mines of W. R. Beaumont, Esq., as well as the Cleveland Iron districts at the request of the Corporation of Middlesbrough. The Mayors of Sunderland and South Shields have also expressed a desire to receive, and assist in promoting the views of, such Members as may visit their respective Boroughs.

Excursions have been arranged to the Northumberland Lakes—the Canobie Colliery—and the necessary means taken to secure ready access to all the leading Mining and Manufacturing Establishments of the district, embracing, in addition to Mines of Coal, Iron, and Lead, very extensive works for the production of Chemicals, Machinery, Glass, Iron Vessels, Fire Clay, &c.

The time appointed for the Meeting is thought to be convenient for Members of the Foreign and British Universities, and facilities for travelling to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, especially from the Continent of Europe, are now very complete.

Both the General and Local Officers will exert themselves to meet the visit of their Associates both agreeable and satisfactory, and it is expected that the gathering at Newcastle-upon-Tyne will be great in numbers, and of unusual interest.

Communications intended for presentation to any of the Sections may be addressed to the Local Secretaries, and should be accompanied by a statement whether the author will be present, and on what day of the Meeting, so that the business of the Sections may be properly arranged.

As the objects of the Association are especially scientific, Papers on History, Biography, Literature, Art, &c., are necessarily inadmissible.

Gentlemen may be proposed as *Life Members* on payment of 10*l.* Subscriptions for New Members, 2*l.* for the first year. Subscriptions for Old Members, 1*l.* for the first year. *Ladies' Tickets* (obtained through a Member, 1*l.*) Names of Candidates for admission are to be sent to the Local Secretaries.

For any further information respecting the local Arrangements, lodgings, or other matters, application may be made to the Local Secretaries, and tickets will be issued to the Members on application, to enable them to travel to and from the Meeting for one fare over the chief railways.

A. NOBLE, } Local Secretaries for  
A. H. HUNT, } Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

## ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES.

*Director.*  
Sir RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, K.C.B. F.R.S., &c.

During the Session 1863-4, which will commence on the 6th of October, the following *LECTURES* and *PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATIONS* will be given:—

1. Chemistry—By A. W. Hofmann, LL.D. F.R.S., &c.
2. Metallurgy—By John Percy, M.A. F.R.S.
3. Natural History—By R. G. Clapham, F.R.S.
4. Mineralogy—By Warrington W. Smyth, M.A. F.R.S.
5. Mining
6. Geology—By
7. Applied Mechanics—By Robert Willis, M.A. F.R.S.
8. Physics—By T. Tyndall, F.R.S.

Instruction in Mechanical Drawing, by Rev. J. Haythorne Edgar, M.A.

The Fee for Students desirous of becoming Associates is 30*l.* in one sum, on entrance, or two annual payments of 20*l.* exclusive of the Laboratories.

Pupils are received in the Royal College of Chemistry (the Laboratory of the School), under the direction of Dr. Hofmann, and in the Metallurgical Laboratory, under the direction of Dr. Percy. Tickets to separate Course of Lectures are issued at 2*l.* and 4*l.* each.

Officers in the Queen's Service, Her Majesty's Customs, acting Mining Agents and Managers, may obtain tickets at reduced prices. Certificated Schoolmasters, Pupil-Teachers, and others engaged in Education, are also admitted to the Lectures at reduced fees.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has granted Two Scholarships, and several others have also been established.

For a Prospectus and information, apply at the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, London, S.W.

TRENHAM REEKS, Registrar.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—The THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT will RE-OPEN ON FRIDAY, October 2.

Two New Students must present themselves on the preceding Wednesday, and may enter for the whole or for any part of the Course.

The following are the Subjects embraced in this Course:—

The Articles of Religion, by Rev. W. J. Elphinstone, D.D., Principal.  
Exegesis of the Old Testament, Hebrew, and Ecclesiastical History, by Rev. A. M'Call, D.D., Professor.  
Exegesis of the New Testament, by Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A.  
Natural Theology, by Rev. S. Chester, M.A., Professor.  
The Evidence, by Rev. J. Leathes, M.A., Lecturer.  
Vocal Music, by John Hullab, Esq., Professor.  
Public Reading, by Rev. A. S. Thelwall, M.A., Lecturer.

The Class of Candidates for admission to this Department, conducted by the Rev. A. I. M'Call, M.A., will re-open on the same day.

For the Prospectus apply to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., Secretary.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—DEPART-

MENT OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.—LECTURES adapted for those who purpose to offer themselves for the Indian Civil Service or into one of the learned professions, will COMMENCE on THURSDAY, October 1.

Divinity—The Rev. the Principal; Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A.  
Classical Literature—The Rev. James Lonsdale, M.A.; Lecturers, Rev. J. J. Heywood, M.A., and C. S. Townsend, Esq., M.A.  
Mathematics—Prof. the Rev. T. G. Hall, M.A.; Lecturer, Rev. T. A. Cook, M.A.; Assistant-Lecturer, Rev. W. Howse, M.A.  
English Language and Literature—Prof. the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A.  
Modern History—Rev. C. H. Pearson, M.A.  
French—Prof. Mariette; and M. Stievenard, Lecturer.  
German—Prof. Dr. Buchheim.

For the Prospectus apply to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., Secretary.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.—The WINTER SESSION will be OPENED ON THURSDAY, October 1, with an Introductory Address, at 8 P.M., by Prof. Garrod, M.D. F.R.S.

The Lectures in the Winter Session will be given by Profs. Partridge, Beale, Miller, Johnson and Ferguson, and by Dr. Harley. In the Summer Session, by Profs. Bentley, Garrod, Priestley, Guy, Bloxam, Rymner Jones, Cartwright, Beale, and Mr. John Wood.

King's College Hospital, and Dispensary, under the direction of Profs. Partridge, Guy, Priestley; Assistant-Physicians—Drs. Evans, Duffin, Livinge, Playfair and Day; Surgeons—Messrs. Ferguson, Partridge; Assistant-Surgeons—Messrs. John Wood, Henry Smith, Mason and Watson.

The House-Physicians, House-Surgeon, their Assistants, Clinical Clerks and Dressers, are selected by examination from among the Students, without exception.

Warford Scholarships, for the encouragement of preliminary non-professional study. Students who enter the Medical Department in October, 1863, will have the exclusive privilege of competing for these Scholarships. Five will be given this year of the value of 25*l.*; two are tenable for three years, and three for two years. The subjects of examination are those of a good school education, viz.—Divinity, Classics, Mathematics, Modern History and Modern Languages. Six other Scholarships are also awarded for proficiency in particular classes of professional study. For Prospectus and full Particulars, apply personally or by letter, marked outside "Prospectus," to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., King's College.

R. W. JELF, D.D., Principal.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—ORIENTAL SECTION.—These LECTURES are specially intended for those who have to pass the Second Examination for the Indian Civil Service, and will COMMENCE on THURSDAY, October 1.

Sanscrit and Bengali—R. Ballantyne, Esq., LL.D.  
Tamil and Telugu—Thomas Howley, Esq.  
Arabic and Mahomedan Law—G. W. Leitner, Esq., Ph.D.  
Hindustani and Hindi Law—F. C. Hall, D.C.L.  
English Law and Jurisprudence—James Stephen, Esq., LL.D.  
Political Economy—Rev. J. R. T. Rogers, M.A.  
Indian Jurisprudence, History, and Geography of India—Prof. F. E. Hall, D.C.L.

For the Prospectus apply to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., Secretary.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED SCIENCES.—LECTURES commence OCTOBER 1.

1. The Engineering Section, conveying instruction in Civil and Military Engineering, Surveying, Architecture, and Manufacturing Art.
2. The Military Section:—A. For those intending (1) to compete for the Military Academies; (2) or to pass the Examination for Commission. B. For Officers wishing to prepare for Staff Appointments, or to compete for the Royal Military College at Sandhurst.
- Divinity—The Rev. the Chaplain.
- Mathematics—Prof. the Rev. T. G. Hall, M.A.; Lecturer, Rev. T. A. Cook, M.A.; Assistant-Lecturer, Rev. W. Howse, M.A.
- Natural Philosophy—Prof. Maxwell, M.A.
- Arts of Construction—Prof. Kerr.
- Manufacturing Art and Machinery—Prof. Shelleys.
- Land Surveying and Levelling—J. Castle, Esq.
- Drawing—Prof. Bradley; Lecturer, Rev. J. Edgar.
- Chemistry—Prof. W. A. Miller, M.D., and C. I. Bloxam.
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- French—Prof. Mariette, M.A.; Lecturer, M. Stievenard.
- Military Tutor (for History, Classics, &c.)—Rev. J. O'Reilly, M.A.

For the Prospectus, apply to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., Secretary.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—The EVENING CLASSES.—These CLASSES will OPEN on MONDAY, October 12, in Divinity, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Writing, Mathematics, Commerce, Drawing, Chemistry, Mechanics, Physiology, Botany, Physics, Zoology, Political Economy and Logic.

The Syllabus of Lectures, price 4*d.* by post, will be forwarded by application to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., putting the word "Syllabus" outside the letter.

## KING'S COLLEGE, London.—The SCHOOL will RE-OPEN on TUESDAY, September 22.

Pupils can be admitted to—

1. The Division of Classics, Mathematics and General Literature, the studies in which are directed to prepare Pupils for the Universities, for the Theological, General Literature and Medical Departments of King's College, and for the Learned Professions.
2. The Division of Modern Instruction, including Pupils intended for Mercantile Pursuits, for the Classes of Architecture and Engineering in King's College, for the Military Academies, for the Civil Service, for the Royal Navy, and for the Commercial Marine.

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## SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, South Kensington.—The ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS for Science Certificates for Teachers will take place in London, Dublin and Edinburgh, in November.

A Table of the Days and Hours appointed for each Subject, and the Places of Examination, will be sent on application, by letter, to the SECRETARY, Science and Art Department, South Kensington, London. W. All Applications for Examination must be made before the 15th of October.

By order of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education.

August, 1863.

## RAY SOCIETY.—The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the RAY SOCIETY will be held at NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, on FRIDAY, August 22, 1863, at 3 P.M.

J. G. JEFFREYS, Esq., F.R.S., in the Chair.  
H. T. STANTON, F.R.S., Secretary.

THE ATHENÆUM for GERMANY and EASTERN EUROPE.—Mr. LUDWIG DENICKE, of Leipzig, begs to announce that he has made arrangements for a weekly supply of THE ATHENÆUM JOURNAL. The subscription will be 1*l.* thaler for three months; 3*l.* thalers for six months; and for twelve. Issued at Leipzig on Thursday. Orders to be sent direct to LUDWIG DENICKE, Leipzig, Germany.

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DAVID MORRIS, F.A.S., Imperial Chambers, Market-place, Manchester, Honorary Secretary.

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**UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.**—MATRICULATION, JANUARY, 1864.—A First-class Graduate and Prizeman of London, who has had more than twenty years' experience in preparing Gentlemen for the Universities, and whose Pupils have been almost invariably successful, is forming a Class to READ the Subjects for the Examination in January next.—For references apply to Messrs. J. W. J. CHAMBERS, 5, Harpur-street, London, W.C.

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SCHOOL will RE-OPEN after the holidays on TUESDAY, September 22nd. The Principal will be at home after the 4th of September. In the mean time applications for Prospectuses, and Statements of the successes achieved by the Pupils at the Examinations conducted by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, may be made to Messrs. E. and F. Brothers, School Book-sellers, 150, Aldersgate-street, London.

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University College, London.  
August 13, 1863.

**UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, MATRICULATION AND B.A. EXAMINATIONS, &c.**—The Rev. WILLIAM KIRKUS, LL.B. receives a few PUPILS to Board and Educate, or to prepare for Public Examinations.—For further Particulars, apply to the Rev. W. KIRKUS, St. Thomas's-square, Hackney, London.

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**ARUNDEL SOCIETY.**—A New Class of Members, called "ASSOCIATES," unlimited in number, has been created. They pay no Subscriptions, but give on admission a Donation of not less than a Guinea to the "Copying Fund." They have the right of purchasing Supernumerary and Occasional Publications, at Reduced Prices, with all other privileges of Membership, except the receipt of the Annual Publications. Vacancies among the Subscribers are filled up by seniority from the Associates.

34, Old Bond-street, W.

**ARUNDEL SOCIETY.**—Copies of the NEW RULES, passed at the Annual General Meeting, June 2, 1863, and Lists of Publications now on sale, may be had by application to the ASSISTANT-SECRETARY, 34, Old Bond-street, London, W.

**ARUNDEL SOCIETY.**—Members and the Public are invited to inspect Two Important WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS, by SIGNOR MARIANECCHI, lately received, taken from the celebrated Frescoes by Raffaele in the Stanza of the Vatican, representing "Paradise," and the "Delivery of St. Peter from Prison."

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## PUBLIC SCHOOLS' CLUB.

WANTED, A STEWARD for the above Club, to enter on his Duties about the first week in September.—Applications and copies of Testimonials to be addressed to the SECRETARY, 17, St. James's-place, by the 25th inst.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1863.

## LITERATURE

*Wilson the Ornithologist: a New Chapter in his Life. (Embodying many Letters hitherto Unpublished.)* By Allan Park Paton. (Longman & Co.)

To men who may be bricked up for nine or ten months of the year in the streets and closes of a great city—say, with Goldsmith in Garden Court or with Johnson in Staple Inn,—the story of a life which has been spent in the green woods, on the open moors, and by the sea-shore, in search of rare or beautiful birds, has on the nerves the freshening effect of a drive into the country or a plunge into the sea. We enjoy such a tale like a rouse of wine. Indeed, this life in the woods or by the sea-shore seems the point at which reality shakes hands with romance. Is not Alexander Wilson as strange a figure as Robinson Crusoe? Are not Audubon's wanderings on the prairies and savannahs as delicious as any adventure of the Pathfinder? Are not the writings of Yarrell, Macgillivray, White, and Waterton among the choicest bits of our mental entertainment, as entrancing to the young as the best romance of Scott, the keenest humour of Dickens? In the very name of an ornithologist there is a charm. He is a lonely man, who loves Nature and has an animal delight in air and colour. With a gun slung on his back, with a wallet on his thigh, and an inkhorn in his belt, he sallies forth into the copse, he jumps into his boat, and for weeks and weeks he may be lost to the sight of man. When he comes back into the world, it is with rare spoil of knowledge, won from Nature in her most secret haunts. No roof domes in his workshop, which is wide as the land and open as the sky. His feet are among the young ferns,—his nostrils filled with the scent of trees and flowers,—his eyes are soothed by the green earth and the blue vault,—his ears lulled by the sighing of leaves or roused by the whirr of wings. Beauty lies about him at every step. In almost everything that man does there is some nearlimit of scenery. The Judge is confined to his court. The secretary must attend to his office. The journalist is chained to his desk. The physician sees little beyond his patient and his brougham. The preacher has but his pulpit and his Sunday audience. Even in the more stirring occupations of war and trade, there is an order, a discipline, a sequence, which in the course of time palls upon the sense. A sailor tires of the sea. A soldier longs to lay down his sword. A merchant prays for the hour when his ships shall have come home and he may take his rest in peace. But we have heard it said, that a man who has once become a freeholder of the woods—like Macgillivray or Gould—who has watched all day for a grebe by the lonely English tarn, or bagged his bird of paradise on the coast of New Guinea, will never tire of his sport so long as he can hold a gun. The canoe, the fowling-piece, the forest glade, the hill-top, are to such a man health and life. He pines in cities. In society he is dreaming of the loch and the heather; at his club-room he is musing of the log-hut in the backwoods or the camp-fire by the Yarra-Yarra. He is the lion who has lapped up blood, the Howadjee who has tasted of the Nile, the poet who has eaten of the insane root. His life is not as that of other men; he is set apart; his career is not a profession, but an adventure.

Of the few men who have led this wild life of the forest and the lake, Alexander Wilson is the most singular, and perhaps the most re-

nowned. A Prince has continued his great book on the Birds of America. The citizens of his native town, proud of his reputation, and not unwilling to share it, are about to erect a public monument in his honour. Mr. Mossman, a sculptor of Glasgow, is engaged on a design for this statue, which is to represent the naturalist dressed for his work; a dead bird, which he has just shot, in his hand, his gun slung round his shoulder, and a sketch-book and parrot at his feet,—a well-contrived and very proper model of the great man. Yet the person thus honoured by Lucien Bonaparte and by the citizens of Paisley was in his day a pedlar, a poet, and a jail-bird, who left his native land, with much sorrow of heart, because his native land did not offer him, in return for work, a little water and a little meal. In the strange book of man's individual life, there is no page more curious than that on which is written this tale of a man of genius.

About the time when Wordsworth began to write 'The Excursion,'—a poem of which a pedlar is the hero, and the effect of pedlarism on the mind and character is a chief subject,—Alexander Wilson was making his last journeys about the Scotch lowlands, with his pack of songs, ribbons, and what not on his back; and, impelled by hunger, was proposing to himself a voyage across the great seas into the land of Penn.

In 1814 the poem was published. Many people saw in it a grand simplicity of words and of ideas; but many of the critics bantered the poet on his absurdity in making a hero out of a pedlar. Shakspeare, they seemed to think, had done what was right. Autolycus was a rogue, and all pedlars were rogues. In art they were good for clowns, in society for stocks and jails. The Scotch reviewers were particularly funny on the calm and contemplative pedlar; for the old stagey aspects of human nature were still entrenched in literature, in spite of the check they had received from Burns, and the life and death of Wilson were not yet known in the high places of the earth. In a new edition of his poem, Wordsworth condescended to explain in notes that a man who had carried a pack round the country-side, who had sold pins and thread to housewives, and done a brisk trade in braces and cheap rings among the farmers' lads and lasses, might still, in his opinion, be a decent fellow. One of this kind he had himself, he said, known very well. With a touch, perhaps, of malice, he said that this pedlar was one Patrick, a Scot by birth,—a good man, and even a tender-hearted man. There was one other, at least, whom he had also known very well, and whom he liked to talk with. In honest and delicious candour, the poet added, that Patrick was a relative of Mrs. Wordsworth, whose sister Sarah had lived for many years "under this good man's roof." From the nameless packman the poet had gained much knowledge of men. All these simplicities of fact and word were trying to the Scottish critics on their very high stilts,—clever young gentlemen, to whom the still, small voice of humanity had not yet become audible in either poetry or prose. It is droll enough, and not without use perhaps, to look back from our present point of view on this fight over pedlarism (as Wordsworth calls it). The Scotch critics would not allow that a pedlar could be a quiet, meditative man. Wordsworth declared that if he had not been a poet, he might have been a pedlar. The Scotch reviewers thought very little of Wordsworth; but still they thought much less of his new hero. A poet could mouth and rant as well as they, and was, in fact, a foeman worthy of their quills. But a pedlar ought to

be kept a pedlar; and a poem which made him a hero ought to be put down as a revolt of literature against the laws of nature and society. If he were anything beyond a lout, a pedlar must be a cheat. If not Autolycus, he must be nothing.

All this wisdom was pronounced only a few months after Alexander Wilson, the Paisley pedlar, had been laid in the graveyard of the Swedish church of Philadelphia. But see the march of noble and poetical ideas! It is possible that the very hand which penned this criticism may have put down money towards the monument now to be erected in this pedlar's native town.

Wilson, in the wonder of his career, exceeds the pedlar whom Wordsworth drew as much as Truth exceeds invention. Properly viewed, his life is one long poem; but wanting, up to this time, one of the finer elements of human poetry—love, passion, misery and remorse; some record of which is now supplied by the letters which Mr. Paton sends into the world. Born in Paisley, in the year 1766, the son of a handloom weaver, one of a family of six, his father, as is common enough in very poor families in Scotland, hoped to educate him for the Church. For a little while he was sent to the grammar-school; but when he was about ten years old his mother died, and, his father marrying again, the boy was bound apprentice to a weaver. At sixteen he got his indentures, and toiled as a weaver for four years. At this time Burns was in his glory, and the weaver lad wrote songs and stanzas. In his twentieth year the vagabond spirit broke out into revolt against the loom and shuttle. But he was very hungry and very poor—writing comic and bacchanalian songs would not give him his fill of morning oatmeal-porridge; so he strapped a green pack on his shoulders, took a hazel staff in his hand, and started as a pedlar round the country-side, writing more songs and stanzas, not always fit for ladies and clergymen to read, it must be said in passing. For three years he travelled through Scotland with muslins "of all the colours of the rainbow," and "songs for men and women of all sizes." One of his handbills said:—

Now, ye fair, if ye chuse my piece to peruse,  
With pleasure I'll instantly show it;  
If the Pedlar should fail to be favour'd with sale,  
Then I hope you'll encourage the Poet.

He was not encouraged by his public; his muslins got dusty and his verses musty. A volume of verse, which he contrived to get published in 1790, fell dead from the press. Unable to live by pedlarism, he returned to his loom. Plying the shuttle, he sang and wrote more poems, but with so little wisdom that, in 1793, he was prosecuted for lampooning one of the Paisley magnates, when he was sentenced to three days' imprisonment, and ordered to burn his offensive verses on the steps of the town jail. The statue of the ornithologist is to stand within a few yards of the spot on which the weaver was compelled to do this act of reparation and of shame. While he was lodged in jail for this satire, Wilson composed his 'Watty and Meg,' the most popular of his pieces—one which was mistaken for a poem by Burns, and sold to the tune of a hundred thousand in a few weeks.

It is understood that the youngster had been induced by some one to vex a worthy man; it is certain that on coming out of prison he called on the incensed gentleman and begged for his personal forgiveness. In later life he came to a very safe estimate of his poems, and particularly of his jovial and satirical pieces. "These were the sins of my youth, and, if I had taken my good old father's advice, they never would

have seen the light." The fame of the bird-hunter will keep the memory of these poor things alive, and, as they were a part of the man and of his fortunes, it is well that they should not perish.

From the moment of his shame he seems to have made up his mind to leave Scotland. But as means were needed for his voyage, not to speak of outfit or capital, he sat down on his bench and threw the shuttle once more for bread. While he worked he starved; for, in order to save money, he had to stint himself to an allowance of twopence a day for food, with nothing at all for Sunday. By the spring of next year, having screwed his passage-money out of his loom, he went on board the Swift, with a great crowd of passengers. Two months were consumed in the voyage; but on the 14th of July, "the sun rising, they found themselves within the capes of the Delawares, the shores on land having the appearance of being quite flat, and only a complete forest of trees." At last he was in sight of his own domain—the Forest,—though he was not to enter it as yet. With a few shillings which had been lent to him by a fellow-passenger, Wilson landed at Newcastle, and, filled with hope, set off, gun on shoulder, for Philadelphia, thirty-three miles. On the road he took his first shot in the New World, bringing down a red-headed woodpecker, "than which," to use his own words, "no bird in North America is more universally known, his tri-coloured plumage, red, white, and black, glossed with steel blue, is so striking and characteristic; and his predatory habits in the orchards and cornfields, added to his numbers, and fondness for hovering along the fences, so very notorious, that almost every child is acquainted with the red-headed woodpecker." This first prize bagged, he trudged on to the city of Penn., where he sought in vain for work as a weaver. For a short time he stayed with a Scotchman, who was a copper-plate printer. It was a lucky accident that led him to this unknown friend, as it probably laid the foundation of his fame. He could not be idle, and he began to etch. In a short time, however, he got back to his loom; but only to abandon it in disgust and distress, for the toils of a tramp and the duties of a schoolmaster. It gives one a very queer notion of American schools in the days of Benjamin Franklin to hear that Wilson got employment as a teacher. True, he had read a few books as he sat over his web; he knew a little reading and writing, and in a rough way a little arithmetic; but there his qualifications for the moment ended. He could not write grammatically, and his style was stiff and turgid, like that of nearly all clever uneducated men. Afterwards he improved in many things, and most of all in the art of writing, for which he had a natural gift; but on his first landing in America he was a pedlar, a weaver, and nothing more. By teaching others he taught himself.

In Pennsylvania, he made the acquaintance of one Charles Orr, a writing-master, to whom he looked up as to a superior being. Orr was also a teacher: but then he knew something of astronomy, mathematics, algebra, geography, and history, and could even prate about literature, poetry, and criticism. What wonder that the raw Scotch youth was dazzled by this brilliant friend! Orr seems to have been a good-natured, foolish fellow, and the two men swore eternal friendship and wrote to each other long letters on frugality, the value of time, and such harmless, if not very amusing, topics. Some of these letters have been preserved, and it is from Wilson's letters to Orr that we may gather a few facts, or, as Mr. Paton phrases it, a new chapter in his life.

The notes now recovered from the waste, fill up a void in Wilson's career of seven years—fill it up loosely and imperfectly, of course, but they show us that the poetical element of passion was not wanting to his life, as every biographer of Wilson has hitherto supposed. Even now we seem to see a part of the truth only, and every reader must decide for himself, from the vague hints of the letters, the nature of this mystery of love and shame. That Wilson's mind ran sometimes into seductive paths, we glean from one of his schoolboy missives to Orr:—

"It was about the middle of last May, one morning in taking my usual rounds, I was delighted with the luxuriance of nature that everywhere smiled around me. The trees were covered with blossoms, inclosing the infant fruit that was, at some future day, to give existence to others. The birds, in pairs, were busily engaged in preparing their nests to accommodate their little offspring. The colt pranced by the side of its dam; the bleating of lambs was heard from every farm; and insects, in thousands, were preparing to usher their multitudes into being. In short, all nature, every living thing around me, seemed cheerfully engaged in fulfilling that great command, 'Multiply and replenish the earth,' excepting myself. I stood like a blank in this interesting scene, like a note of discord in this universal harmony of love and self-propagation, everything I saw seemed to reproach me as an unsocial wretch separated from the great chain of nature, and living only for myself. No endearing female regarded me as her other self, no infant called me its father, I was like a dead tree in the midst of a green forest, or like a blasted ear amidst the yellow harvest. Full of these mortifying reflexions, I wandered homewards, and entered my lodging; there my landlord and his amiable spouse were playing with their children and smiling on each other with looks of mutual affection and parental pride. 'O despicable wretch,' said I to myself, 'what is all thy learning, books, or boasted acquisitions, to a companion like that, or innocents like these whom thou couldst call thine own? By all that's good,' cried I, 'I shall share these pleasures though ten thousand unseen distresses lurk among them.'

This note seems written as a mere essay, and as an exercise of style. It is weak enough and foolish enough; yet it also shows a tendency of his mind which has uniformly been denied by the writers of his life. When he fell into real love, and shame, he could write about his fault with vigour, as we shall soon see. The above hint that he may not be quite fancy-free, is immediately explained away in these words:—

"To you, Mr. Orr, who know me so well, it is unnecessary to add that these resolutions were soon forgot in study and abandoned for some algebraic solution or mathematical pursuit. But I have to ask you, is it not criminal to persist in a state of celibacy? And how comes it, that those whom science allures in her train, and whose hearts are most susceptible of the finer feelings of the soul, are so forgetful of this first and most exquisite of all human enjoyments, the enjoyment of a virtuous wife and little innocents in whom they can trace their own features blended together?"

These feelings, not less than the facts to follow, are quite unknown to Wilson's biographers. Indeed, the bird-hunter has been set down as a cold, hard fellow, incapable of any tender and misleading emotion. "He had never yielded to the soft but potent sovereignty of love. In this respect he is almost alone among the warm-hearted sons of song. Rarely does he write of love, and when he does, it is like a man who might have thought about it, as about any other interesting mental phenomenon, but had never experienced its subduing power."—"Like many sons of toil, he was not bound by very strong ties of sentiment to his native country; and what is a little remarkable in a poet's life, he never formed any attachment of the heart."

"His morals were correct, his piety sincere, and his affection for his natural or adopted friends no change of time or place could influence or alter. With the high-born feelings of a poet, he had few of the defects that cling to the poetic character. Female attachments he had none, or he wisely allowed them to hold him so lightly, as neither to interrupt his pursuits nor disturb his peace." Such are the accounts given of Wilson by those who thought they knew him best. That these wise people were ill-informed, we may now perceive. The first letter we shall quote is rather startling:—

"I am indeed much obliged to your friendship, and request that you would come out this evening and stay with me till Sunday evening. I have matters to lay before you that have almost distracted me. Do come. I shall be so much obliged. Your friendship and counsel may be of the utmost service to me. I shall not remain here long. It is impossible I can. I have now no friend but yourself, and one whose friendship has involved both in ruin or threatens to do so. You will find me in the schoolhouse."

In the biographies it is recorded, that "Wilson next changed his residence at Milestown for the village of Bloomfield, New Jersey, where he again taught a school." The reason for this change may now be guessed. There was certainly a lady in the case; a lady with whom he had been in love. From New Jersey he writes to his friend:—

"I am exceedingly uneasy to hear from you. Dear Orr, make no rash engagements that may bind you for ever to this unworthy soil. \* \* I request you, my dear friend, to oblige me in one thing if you wish me well. Go out on Saturday to — and try to get intelligence how Mr. —'s family comes on, without letting any one know that you have heard from me. Get all the particulars you can, what is said of me, and how Mrs. — is, and every other information, and write me fully. I assure you I am very wretched, and this would give me the greatest satisfaction. — will tell you everything, but mention nothing of me to anybody on any account. Conceal nothing that you hear, but inform me of everything. My dear friend, I beg you would oblige me in this. I am very miserable on this unfortunate account."

Nothing is said as to the nature of the attachment which Wilson had contracted for the unknown female. If it were an innocent one, why should it have led to so much misery and to Wilson's sudden flight? The next is equally mysterious:—

"My dear friend,—I received yours last evening. O how blessed it is to have one friend on whose affection, in the day of adversity, we can confide! As to the reports circulated in the neighbourhood of Milestown, were I alone the subject of them they would never disturb me, but she who loved me dearer than her own soul, whose image is for ever with me, whose heart is broken for her friendship to me,—she must bear all with not one friend to whom she dare unbosom her sorrows. Of all the events of my life nothing ever gave me such inexpressible misery as this. O my dear friend, if you can hear anything of her real situation, and whatever it be disguise nothing to me. Take a walk up to —'s, perhaps she has called lately there, and go out to —'s on Saturday if possible. Let nobody whatever know that you have heard anything of me."

Can any reader, skilful in affairs of the heart, assure us that all this flurry and emotion comes from an innocent love? What had the schoolmaster done that he should be obliged to fly from Milestown in so sharp a panic as to leave his great coat behind? Hear what he says:—

"My dear Orr, I trust to your friendship for the intelligence I mentioned; write me fully as I will you on receipt. I left my great coat with a Mr. — in Wrightstown, where — and I lodged. — will tell you his name. I wish you would write for it without letting — know anything of the matter. I left it in the stable. I owed



him nothing. I shall be much obliged if you drop a line to him that it may be sent to Philadelphia, and this will be your warrant. Farewell. I shall write more fully next time."

The next time, he certainly writes more at length, though he leaves us still in the dark as to the cause of his flight, his hiding, and his shame:—

"My dear Friend,—I received yours yesterday. I entreat you keep me on the rack no longer. Can you not spare one day to oblige me so much? Collect every information you can, but drop not a hint that you know anything of me. If it were possible you could see her or any one who had, it would be an unspeakable satisfaction to me. My dear Orr, the world is lost for ever to me and I to the world. No time nor distance can ever banish her image from my mind. It is for ever present with me, and my heart is broken with the most melancholy reflections. Whatever you may think of me, my dear friend, do not refuse me this favour to know how she is. Were your situation mine, I declare from the bottom of my soul I would hazard everything to oblige you. I leave the management of it to yourself. But do not forget me."

No one can doubt the genuineness of this emotion. It is the first time that Wilson writes well. So that, whatever may have been the cause of his agony, it was also the cause of a vast improvement in his style.

We never get any nearer to an explanation of the mystery in these papers. Orr quarrelled with his friend; and it may be inferred from their letters that Orr was indignant with Wilson for his doings at Milestown in connexion with the unknown lady. It seems highly probable that as his imprisonment at Paisley had driven him across the Atlantic, so his flight from Milestown may have been the cause of his surrendering the birch for the gun. Soon after this time, he began that series of excursions through the forests of America on which his great book is based, and which made him one of the most eminent of ornithologists. The rest of his life is familiar. How he walked, how he rowed, how he shot, how he etched, and how he wrote, the whole world knows by heart. He ended his days, characteristically enough, by a cold which he contracted in pursuit of a very rare bird. And now, nearly a hundred years after his birth, his native town is about to erect a monument on the scene of his first disgrace. It is a very odd story.

*The Romance of the Papacy*—[*Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters*, von Joh. Jos. Ign. von Döllinger]. (Munich.)

Who was Pope Joan? How comes it that for centuries the universal Church believed that a woman had been Pope, till her sex was detected by her giving birth to a child in open day and in the midst of the solemnities of a procession? Was Constantine baptized by the Pope, as none but the head of the Church could receive the head of the world into the fold? Did Constantine really make that donation of all lands to the head of the Church, by which the temporal power came into being? Was there a Pope who abdicated, and another who deposed himself for sacrificing to the heathen gods? These are the questions which Dr. Döllinger asks and answers in this curious volume.

It has already been announced in these columns that the author of the celebrated book on the Temporal Power is employed in writing the History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages. The present work is an offshoot of the greater work in view. It is the fruit of the various studies that had to be made preparatory to weaving that definite chain of events which is history, in the byways and footpaths that cross and re-cross the high road, throwing a net

work of intricate puzzles around the feet of the traveller.

The growth of these Papal Fables is a most curious feature in the mediæval history of the Church of Rome, and Dr. Döllinger places them under so powerful a microscope that their details come out with the utmost minuteness. His treatment of them reminds us of the process by which bank-notes that had been buried in an old stocking till they were a mass of mould, came again into being under the influence of warm water and a camel's hair brush. Fable after fable is put into warm water and gently coaxed with the brush, till from an inarticulate puzzle it becomes a thing of purpose. Nothing is more remarkable than the view with which each fable was devised, or at least propagated; for the fable of Pope Joan must have had a popular origin, and can only have been adopted by the learned, instead of being a purely learned invention. But the object with which the story of Pope Joan was spread abroad by the very men who had no excuse for believing it, was to bring discredit on the Papacy; and this was not done by the Waldenses, as some have asserted, but by the warmest defenders of the Papacy, the Dominicans and Minorites. The riddle is explained by a reference to the time at which the fable was propagated. It was during the time of Boniface the Eighth, who was hostile to both those orders, and whose hostility occasioned the unfavourable judgment passed on him by the Dominican historians, as well as the line taken by the Dominicans when the quarrel broke out between the Pope and Philip the Fair. The fable of Constantine's baptism was evidently devised to show the relations in which an Emperor and a Pope should stand. Constantine's gift was for some time the authority by which the Popes claimed an unlimited temporal power, and, on the strength of it, Hadrian the Fourth gave Ireland to the English government. But the fable was first devised in the middle or latter part of the eighth century, at the time when the might of the Longbeards began to wane, and its object was to make a strong and united Italy under the Pope. The fable of Pope Cyriacus, who abdicated his seat in order to be martyred with St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins—another tradition at which Dr. Döllinger gives a passing hit—was made use of by the adherents of Boniface the Eighth to justify his elevation to the Papal throne, in the room of Celestinus the Fifth, who had resigned. The numerous enemies of Boniface the Eighth declared that a Pope could not resign, as, being head of the Church, there was no one higher than him on earth to release him from his obligations. With a similar object, the fable of Marcellinus, who was condemned by the fictitious synod of Sinuessa for sacrificing to the Pagan gods, and who deposed himself in consequence of the decree of that council, was appealed to by the opponents of Pope Symmachus, at the beginning of the sixth century, as an admirable precedent for that Pope to follow.

As an illustration of the progress made by these fables from their hidden sources to the completeness they gradually assumed, we will take the most interesting one in this volume—the story of Pope Joan. The origin of this singular story must have been among the people, and it is not known at what time it grew up among them. No written mention of Joan has been found before the year 1250. The common story, as it appears without subsequent embellishment, is that the female Pope reigned more than two years in the ordinary way, performed many sacred functions, ordained and instituted, and, finally, gave birth to a child during a procession, which scandal was atoned

by the people stoning her on the spot. Four circumstances contributed to justify the popular belief in this legend: a statue, supposed to be a figure in woman's clothes, with a child, was discovered in a certain place; in the same place a stone stood with an inscription on it; a peculiar sort of chair was made use of when a new Pope was installed; and processions were in the habit of taking a circuitous route so as to avoid a certain street. Of course, the popular mind constructed hypotheses on these last two circumstances, although the street was avoided by processions because it was too narrow for them to pass, and the chair which was such a suspicious object, was only an old Roman-bath chair. The statue was, in itself, nothing remarkable, but was taken in connexion with the stone that bore an inscription, and was supposed to be a tombstone. This stone seems to have been erected by a priest of Mithras, whose name was Papirius, but, by the same law as that recorded in 'The Antiquary,' which converted 'Aiken Drum's lang ladle' into 'Agricola dicavit libens lubens,' the inscription 'Papirius pater patrum propriâ pecuniâ posuit,' came to signify 'Papa pater patrum peperit papissâ papellum.' Dr. Döllinger goes into a study of comparative fabulism to show how strictly the edifice reared on these grounds is in unison with other popular creations, quoting the nursery tales of the Graf von Gleichen and his two wives, of Bishop Hatto and his death by rats or mice, as well as the tradition which explains the origin and wealth of the Colonna family. But the marvel in the fable of Pope Joan is not the popular origin, but the learned adoption. Although the ninth century is assigned as the date of her existence, no single trace of her can be found in any book or manuscript before the middle of the thirteenth century. The first authority given is that of a contemporary chronicle, quoted by Stephen de Bourbon, a French Dominican, writing about 1250. But the work by which the story of Pope Joan was most widely diffused is that of Martinus Polonus, 'A History of the Popes,' which was generally taken to be officially inspired by the Curia, as the author was for a long time in a high position at the Papal Court. A legend, however improbable, which was authenticated by such an authority, was naturally accepted with alacrity. And yet Martinus Polonus himself does not make the faintest allusion to the female Pope. She is not in the oldest manuscripts at all; in some of the subsequent ones she is placed in the margin; and it is in 1312 that she first appears in the body of the history. It is singular, too, that Martinus had taken the strangest precaution against any such later introduction. His manuscript was written on a plan by which forgery would seem certain to be excluded. He gave each Pope as many lines as his reign lasted years, and every page of the manuscript contained fifty lines, that is, a half-century. How then could a later copyist put in Pope Joan without detection? It so happened that the reign of Leo the Fourth was so uneventful that the historian could not fill up eight lines with the eight years of that Pope, and Joan was consequently inserted in the empty space that was left!

Here, then, is the first timid beginning of the fable. At first the female Pope is nameless, then her proper name is Agnes, and the name under which she was installed is John, one of the commonest in the papal list. She comes either from England or from Mainz: the latter theory being started out of hostility to the Germans; the former arising from the number of lady-pilgrims who came from England, and whose doubtful character was loudly censured by one of the Popes. By the fifteenth cen-

tury the story of Pope Joan was universally believed. At that time her bust was placed in the row of Papal busts in the Cathedral of Sienna. At the Council of Constance Huss quoted her case to justify his most violent attacks on the Papacy, and no one made any objection. The Chancellor Gerson, in his speech before Benedict the Thirteenth in the year 1403, alluded to the case of Pope Joan as a proof that the Church could err in matters of fact. A Minorite in a discourse on the Council of Constance referred to her case to prove that obedience to the Church should not depend on the personal qualifications of the Pope. Cardinal Torquemata, the great advocate of the Papal power in the middle of the fifteenth century, was fully persuaded that a woman had been Pope, and drew the conclusion that a heretic or infidel might occupy the same position without the whole constitution of the Church being endangered. Thus, the small brook has grown to be a mighty river, and it rolls along in ever-increasing might, without its source being questioned by any venturesome traveller. Since its authenticity has been doubted, many great men have busied themselves with conjectures about the manner of its origin; guesses have been made by many with more or less extravagance, more or less ingenuity; and among those who have vainly attempted to master the riddle we find such names as Baronius and Leibnitz.

Some, perhaps, may judge that Dr. Dollinger's vast expenditure of learning has been without adequate result in settling these fables. When Gibbon had pronounced that the fable of Pope Joan was a myth, a Catholic writer might think that there was no danger of its again being quoted in controversy. But putting aside the fact, that in the last twenty years two books have been written to prove the reality of her existence, truth is always valuable, and some of these fables are not without actual application to the present times. We find in the chapters on Pope Liberius and the Antipope Felix a coincidence, which we are convinced Dr. Dollinger had not intended. Dr. Dollinger shows us that Liberius, the Bishop of Rome, was exiled to Thrace by the Emperor Constantius for opposing himself to the Arian opinions of the Emperor and his eunuch, and that Felix was consecrated by three Arian bishops in his stead. The Roman people refused to acknowledge Felix, petitioned that Liberius might be restored; and at last, after some concessions, Liberius was reinstated by the Emperor, while Felix was driven out of Rome by the hostility of the people. It is remarkable, says Dr. Dollinger, that later tradition has turned this story into one favourable to Felix the Antipope and opposed to Liberius. It has gone so far that this Antipope, who was forced on the Romans against their will by civil power, was reckoned as a saint, while his opponent was made out to be a blood-stained tyrant, a heretic, and a persecutor of the faithful. Has no other Pope been forced upon the Romans against their will by civil power? What are the epithets which the clerical party bestows upon Victor Emmanuel?

*Year-Books of the Reign of King Edward the First.* Edited and Translated by Alfred J. Horwood. (Longman & Co.)

In several of the volumes illustrating the political and domestic history of England we have been admitted to the palaces of kings, the houses of citizens, and the battle-fields contested by fierce adversaries. In the present volume, Mr. Horwood takes us into the law courts of between five and six hundred years ago: we

may hear the whole Norman-French process, if we are so minded; and, should we be puzzled by archaisms, a well-executed translation shows how efficient an interpreter we have in Mr. Horwood himself.

The law Reports contained in this book are the earliest known. There are no continuous Reports from the time of the Conquest; the written code was scanty; its application and administration uncertain. Henry the Third was a Justinian, in his way; under him the laws were more regularly administered; and to those which he introduced, his son Edward the First added more, as the population grew and questions of property, right, liberty, and the King's peace became more frequently agitated. The cases thus arising are here reported, not as yet by official reporters, but by very competent compilers.

The Norman-French in which these Reports are written—that in which, for the most part, the parties to the causes, the Judges and the counsel spoke—shows, as Mr. Horwood remarks, that the natives who used the fashionable foreign tongue thought in their own. The people at large spoke only English; the jury questioned and were addressed in English, and the Judges were compelled to employ both languages, according to circumstances; and this may account for the English form of thought and expression which is dressed up in phrase of Norman-French.

We learn from these Reports that litigants, though represented by attorney, could interfere in the conduct of their suit, and that attorneys could speak for clients although the latter were further represented by counsel. Sometimes, when an attorney was hard to be understood, the client was appealed to, to say if he meant such and such things by what the attorney was saying. Occasionally, as now, when a man was his own lawyer, he had, according to the old saw, a fool for his client. "The want of a good Serjeant," says the Court, in a case of writ of trespass, "makes B. (the defendant) lose his money." But as B. was evidently in the wrong, this remark leads us to believe that learned Serjeants then, as now, were skilled in making the worse appear the better cause.

Mighty men were those Serjeants in the Bench. What should we think now of a Judge abandoning his support of a writ because the Serjeants thought it could not be maintained? Such deference to these gentlemen was shown in the good old days and law courts of King Edward. And yet then, and later, the Judges were strong-minded and stout-worded men. Burnetoun used to adorn the expression of his opinion with a "By God!" and John de Mowbray dismissed a right-reverend defendant with the parting words, "Go to the devil!"

Mr. Horwood says that this defendant was the Bishop of Chester; and that the incident took place in the 44th of Edward the Third. Now, the 44th of that King was 1371, and the Bishopric of Chester was not created (and then by charter) till 1541, when it was endowed from the confiscated revenues of the Abbey of St. Werburgh in that city; the defendant was, perhaps, Abbot of St. Werburgh, or of some other religious community whose chief was a prince-bishop in power.

The cases here reported, when contrasted with those of to-day, do not tend to show that human nature was worse then than now. An Essex butcher kills his wife, euphoniously named Philomena, in a tavern brawl; drunkenness is the first step to more than one such end; might tries to overcome right; and treachery was, in various ways, active in the old time, but not more so than in this. Local jurisdictions alone forcibly remind us of a bygone period

and system. For instance, the Lord of the Scilly Islands used to punish felons by sending them to a rock in the sea, with a couple of barley-loaves and a pitcher of water to live on until the tide drowned them.

Now and then we find the law strained by the Judge, simply to put money in the king's treasury. We meet with a man charged with manslaughter obtaining his pardon, and on acquittal presenting a pair of gloves, according to custom, to the Justice's clerk. Gloves are now only given, and to a Judge, when there is no man to be tried; they were formerly given to his clerk, when the person tried was subsequently pardoned. This custom has gone out. So too has that of deodands, numerous in this book; but which will fill no page in any Report later than the tenth year of our present Sovereign, when they were finally abolished. How they lasted so long is hard to be understood, for a deodand, or thing which caused accidental death, was anciently employed only to buy masses for the soul of the deceased. The decisions were nicely weighed. Thus a man is accidentally killed by an arrow which glanced from a stationary object: that object was declared to be the deodand, and not the moving arrow which actually inflicted death.

Mr. Horwood cites one case as an illustration of Magna Charta. Sir Hugh, a priest, is accused of a violent assault on a woman. As not she, but the King, is the accuser, Hugh can have no counsel. He is further told that he has forfeited his privilege of clergy by having married a widow. Having failed as a clerk, he proclaimed himself a knight, and demanded to be tried by his peers. A jury of knights was formed. Sir Hugh challenged them, but though he had pleaded being a "clerk," it now turned out that he could not read! However, the difficulty was got over, after which Sir Hugh having availed himself of every privilege allowed by Magna Charta was proved to be innocent, and was acquitted. He would have been so under any circumstances, but he dreaded the meshes of the law, and would have escaped from them by any means. The offence for which he was arraigned was punished, in the case of single men, by a penalty worse than death, for the offender's eyes were put out, and he was otherwise barbarously mutilated. He had, however, one chance of escape; the woman he had assaulted could save the offender by marrying him; and this latter course was probably often adopted.

We close Mr. Horwood's useful and agreeable volume with warm commendations for both the matter and the manner of it.

*Annals of the Wars of the Nineteenth Century.* By the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L. Vols. III. and IV., 1810-1815. (Murray.)

At the beginning of 1810 the Emperor sent Masséna into Spain with the confident hope that he would soon drive the "Leopard" into the sea. This task the Marshal found too difficult, and after being foiled at Busaco he was brought to a state of helpless inactivity before the lines of Torres Vedras, the most remarkable instance alike of combined forethought and engineering skill ever recorded. Unable to force so strong a position, which consisted of "126 closed works defended by 29,751 men and 247 pieces of cannon," the French commander sat down before it to await the orders of Napoleon under this new conjunction. If to advance was impossible, to remain stationary was almost equally so, since the district had been so denuded of supplies that it was extremely difficult to obtain subsistence for the French army, which had brought



no provisions with it. The Marshal's energy, however, and the peculiar activity and ingenuity of his soldiers enabled him to remain some months in observation of Wellington. The great Duke thus bears testimony to his adversaries' powers of sustaining themselves in an exhausted country. "It is certainly astonishing that the enemy have been able to remain where they are so long; and it is an extraordinary instance of what a French army can do. It is a positive fact that they brought no provisions along with them down to the lines, and have not received so much as a letter from any quarter since they entered Portugal; nevertheless, I assure you, I could not have maintained one division of my army for two months in the district in which they have found food for 60,000 men and 20,000 animals for two months." Those who have served in the Crimea will cordially indorse this statement of the great Duke. In the latter campaign, French soldiers might often have been seen, knife in hand, searching about on a barren hill, where not a vestige of vegetation was apparent, for roots of which to make salad, and these practical herbalists seldom laboured in vain.

Leaving Wellington behind his entrenchments, amply provided with rations, and not only feeding his own army, but also a host of refugees, the whole amounting to 400,000 men, to tire out the patience of the French commander, we will glance at one of the numerous operations which had been taking place in other parts of Spain. Among these was the siege of Tortosa by Marshal Suchet. After thirteen days spent in open trenches that General had succeeded in effecting a practicable breach. "Three flags of truce were now seen suspended from three different points, and Suchet, suspecting that this betokened some panic or a breach of discipline, took the bold step of riding forward himself to the gate of the castle, accompanied by his generals and the officers of his staff, and escorted by a company of grenadiers. On being challenged by the sentries, he announced to them that hostilities had ceased, and ordering the drawbridge to be lowered, he demanded to be conducted to the governor. Assuming a lofty air, the French Marshal rode into the castle-yard, where he found the governor's quarters. The poor man, weak in character and intimidated by the actual presence of the commander of the besieging force, hesitated, and replied that he could not reckon on the obedience of the troops and that the council had refused the terms. General Hubert accordingly, with a loud voice, ordered the grenadiers to advance. This bold and well-timed step brought about an immediate surrender."

Torres Vedras seems to have been the point at which commenced to ebb the tide of French success in Spain. With but few occasional checks, the wave of English victory now swept steadily on,—till, gathering strength in its progress, it inundated the soil of France itself, and contributed in no slight degree to the overthrow of Napoleon.

Our admiration for the author of this brilliant result is changed into astonishment when we learn with what difficulties he was beset: harassed and thwarted by Spanish politicians, and neglected by the English Government, who, while squandering treasure on the Spaniards, left Wellington without money, stores, engineers and artillery. Every difficulty was overcome by dint of energy, forethought, calm good sense, and fertility of resource. Many were the operations hampered or prevented by his unprovided state, and much precious blood was shed at sieges, chiefly because sappers, a proper train of heavy artillery, and the requisite entrenching tools were wanting. At the siege of Badajoz,

the trenching-tools provided were so bad, that a positive struggle occurred to get some old French ones, which had been captured in Olivença or elsewhere. Picton sarcastically remarked on these shortcomings for a siege, "that Lord Wellington sued Badajoz in *forma pauperis*."

The author is of opinion that in addition to these circumstances, which rendered scientific siege operations difficult, if not impossible, to carry on, the Duke partook of the national prejudice in favour of main force, instead of the slower but surer and more bloodless operations of the engineer. Be that as it may, from the smallness of his force and the manner in which he was obliged, as it were, to snatch his captures, the Duke had but little option as to the course he adopted. In describing the battle of Fuentes d'Onore Sir Edward Cust has fallen into error. He says—

"The 3rd Regiment of Guards, under Lieut.-Col. Hill, formed in square, was in the act of retiring, when they were shaken by a charge of French horse, who took the commanding officer prisoner; but the British cavalry moved up to their assistance, the regiment re-formed, and, under Lieut.-Col. Guise, aided by the 95th under Capt. O'Hara, this attack was repulsed."

—This, we think, is a mistake. Lieut.-Col. Hill was that day in command of the pickets of the 3rd Guards, which while skirmishing were suddenly charged by the French cavalry. In the *mêlée* Col. Hill and some of his men were taken prisoners, and others cut down.

The details of Wellington's triumphant march from Torres Vedras to Toulouse have been eloquently described in Napier's 'History,' that classical companion to every soldier who loves his profession. We shall not, therefore, follow the author through his compilation of the various events of the Peninsular War, but, hussar-like, dash here and there, picking out merely those passages of the *ci-devant* Light Dragoon's book which appear interesting to the general reader. The best cavalry we had in the great war were the Germans; but the English dragoons, hitherto little instructed, soon acquired a due knowledge of their duties. The most important, perhaps, of these duties were patrolling and reconnoitring, and the reader will be astonished to learn with what bold enterprise these were sometimes performed. On one occasion, Sir Edward Cust, himself then a lieutenant in the 14th Dragoons, proceeded to a distance of 150 miles from head-quarters, and, attended only by a single dragoon, was able, unseen by the enemy, to note down "every gun, battalion, and squadron that was on march upon a road not a mile distant from the wooded height on which he stood." The British cavalry were not very extensively employed in the pitched battles of the Peninsula, which were chiefly won by the infantry. In the various retreats and advances, however, they frequently came into contact with the enemy's horsemen. In the affair at El Bodon, Sir Edward Cust was himself present, and can vouch for the truth of the following anecdote: Col. Felton Harvey, on that occasion, led the charge of the 14th Dragoons—Sir Edward's own regiment—when a French officer met him and was in the act of striking his antagonist, but, perceiving that he had only one arm, the chivalrous Frenchman lowered his sword to the salute, and passed on. This brave man was a few moments afterwards slain.

As we have just said, the British cavalry did not take so prominent a part as the infantry—indeed, such must ever be the case,—but at Salamanca they contributed greatly to the complete rout of the enemy:—

"After a short hour's repose the pursuit was

again taken up, and the British cavalry crossed the Tormes without seeing an enemy, but moving rapidly up stream they overtook the fugitives near the village of La Serra, posted on the Almar rivulet. They were a mass of all regiments and divisions, yet, with that wonderful elasticity which accompanies a French soldier in his direct reverses, they immediately formed squares against the horse, and maintained a bold front until the heavy German Dragoons, commanded by General Brock, and the light cavalry brigade of Anson formed column, and, hurtling on the mass, charged three squares in succession and went clean through them, so that while many fell dead, as many men as would have composed three battalions were broken, dispersed, and made prisoners."

The author justly remarks—

"It is probable that there is not upon record so successful a charge of cavalry upon infantry without the aid of artillery as the one here recorded. It is unreasonable to expect that, against soldiers under perfect discipline, and armed with a weapon deadly both to fire and to pierce, the mere impetus of a horse can overbalance such advantages; but when the mass is broken and the strife reduced to an encounter of individuals, the horsemen must ever be triumphant."

There can be little doubt that the direct cause of Napoleon's overthrow was the fatal Russian campaign of 1812. Intoxicated by his former successes he rashly and causelessly ventured to brave, not only the patriotic fury of a valiant nation, but even those physical obstacles of climate and space which have ever proved the best defence of the mighty empire of the Czar. The immense distance to be traversed, the savage, uncultivated nature of the country, and the absence of any distinct heart, if we may use the term, at which to aim a blow, were sufficient reasons to deter any one whom the gods had not made mad with a view to his ruin; but in Napoleon the feverish lust of conquest, combined with the necessities of his position, urged him to action. Having overrun the whole civilized world, he panted like Alexander for more food for his sword. He was not the same man in this campaign he had been at Austerlitz and Wagram. In one of his letters after the former battle he had thus expressed himself:—"On n'a qu'un temps pour la guerre: j'y serai bon encore pour six ans, après quoi moi-même je devrai m'arrêter." Bonaparte was at this time thirty-six years of age, and he succumbed just at the term he had named. Under fifty is the time of action to every one.

At the battle of Borodino, Napoleon was suffering from rheumatism and low spirits:—It was not more than ten o'clock when Napoleon was sought for on every side with reports as to the state of affairs, and it was some time before he could be found. He was, in fact, wholly off the field, seated upon the redoubt of Schwarino, which had been captured two days before. The King of Naples sent Borelli, and Ney sent up Belliard, and here they found him. His rheumatism so afflicted him that he could scarcely stir from his seat. Instead of walking nervously about or mounting his horse to see the real condition of affairs, he received the accounts of the battle "avec une triste résignation, un calme lourd, une douceur molle." About three in the afternoon he yielded to the solicitations of those about him to send up his Guard, but almost immediately afterwards qualified that order by a direction to Bessières to take them "où il le piquait convenable," and a few minutes later again changed his mind, and would not suffer them to advance at all, substituting for their action the fire of 400 pieces of artillery, before which, however, the Russians refused to recoil. The approach of night at length terminated the battle, both armies resting on the field, which was encumbered with the bodies of 80,000 killed and

wounded combatants. "The emperor, at half-past five, mounted his horse with difficulty, and rode over the ground on which the conflict had raged hottest, where he congratulated Murat and Ney with a feeble voice and broken down spirit, finishing the day with this unvictorious sentence, 'De n'avancer ni reculer quoiqu'il arrivât.' Here we may remark, by-the-by, that the author is in error regarding the capture of the redoubt of Schwarino two days previous to the battle. He says, the loss on the part of the French "was so great that it is recorded that when Napoleon asked the Colonel where was the third battalion of his regiment, he replied: 'Sire, il est dans la redoute.' It had, indeed, got inside, and had been driven out again three times, so that nearly the whole had perished."

The regiment here referred to was the 61st, and General Knollys, in his 'Russian Campaign,' thus disposes of the anecdote, which possesses more of the *ben trovato* than the *vero*:—"Now General Gourgaud, who was the Emperor's first 'officier d'ordonnance,' or aide-de-camp, and was present, states that not only was this redoubt not taken and re-taken three times, but that it was never taken by assault at all. It was impossible, therefore, for the dead bodies of the battalion of the 61st to have been there, for no French soldiers were killed in it. The Russians evacuated the work by its gorge, on the fire of a French battery being directed upon it from a flank, and the French soldiers then entered by the same passage."

Hitherto Napoleon had been little accustomed to take counsel of any one; he now did so more than once. It is needless to follow the Grande Armée through all the horrors of that dreadful retreat, which has been the theme of so many eloquent pens. That Napoleon's misfortunes were owing altogether to the inclemency of the weather is a fallacy which has been often repeated. The author refutes this error. "Contrary to the usual course of nature in these latitudes, the climate during the first weeks in October continued fine, and Napoleon, in his bulletins, compared the weather at Moscow to that at Fontainebleau in September." This statement is confirmed in General Knollys' translation of the Duc de Fésensac's account of the Russian campaign. The Duke, speaking of the 6th of November—the retreat had commenced on the 18th of October—thus expresses himself:—"The weather was fine and tolerably mild for the season, and we looked forward to our arrival at Smolensko as the happy termination of all our fatigues. Suddenly, on the morrow, while on our march, the weather changed and became excessively cold." The retreat may be said to have ceased about the middle of January, 1813.

In making the above observations on the cause of Napoleon's reverses, we must not be understood to assert that the cold, which, though not greater than usual in that part of the world, was yet intense, had nothing to do with them, but only to protest against the acceptance of that salve to French vanity—the declaration that Napoleon was conquered by the elements alone. Excluding the 7th and the 10th corps, and the Austrians detached on the wings, 420,000 men were engaged in the campaign from first to last, of which number a large portion joined at Moscow and at Smolensko during the retreat, yet on leaving the former city the army had been reduced to 100,000 effective men; of these only about 10,000 recrossed the Vistula. The fact is, that the nature of the climate allowed but a very short period during which active operations could be carried on. Napoleon lost sight of this circumstance, and, blind to his actual position, wasted at Moscow, in indecision and fruitless negotiation, upwards of a month, in-

stead of employing that time in withdrawing his army from its hazardous position. Moreover, the arrangements for feeding and supplying the troops with stores on their retreat broke down as soon as any stress was applied. At the beginning of December, 1812, the Emperor left the army for Paris, where his presence had become absolutely necessary, and such was his activity and energy, that at the end of April, 1813, he was able to take the field with 350 cannon and upwards of 200,000 men. We need not follow him through the struggle he maintained for twelve months against the ever-increasing forces of his enemies. At the opening of the campaign he had said, on quitting his carriage to mount on horseback, "Je ferai cette campagne comme le Général, et non pas en Empereur"; and he kept his word. A losing game is always a disheartening one to play, yet Napoleon showed no lack of spirit now. He was again the Bonaparte of Italy. Difficulty and danger only seemed to call up fresh energies to meet them. In the campaign of 1814 it has been considered that the Emperor surpassed himself, and that he never displayed greater strategic skill or activity than when the net was gradually inclosing him in its coils. Succour there was none to look for, and the nerves of any other man would have given way: his only became firmer. The painfully-interesting tale of a great general wrestling with defeat is relieved by the serio-comic anecdote of Latour-Maubourg, whose leg was carried off by a round shot at the battle of Leipzig. "Amputation was immediately and successfully performed on the ground, and 'he lived to fight another day'; but his servant, who had accompanied him through so many dangers, was quite overcome at the occurrence. 'Tiens-toi, camarade,' said the General; 'pour ton soulagement tu n'auras jamais plus qu'une botte à frotter.'"

In this campaign Jomini, who was a General of Brigade and chief of Ney's staff, deserted to the Russians, who made him a General and Aide-de-camp to the Czar. Napoleon never fancied him much, and resisted all Ney's importunities that he would give him the rank of General of Division. The reader may not be aware that the Baron is still alive and in the possession of all his wonderful faculties, being now eighty-four years of age.

This campaign was also fruitful in losses of more valued and valuable officers: Marshals Bessières and Duroc, two of Napoleon's earliest and most faithful friends, here met the death they had hitherto braved with impunity on a hundred fields.

To return now to the Peninsula, where Wellington was effecting a grand diversion in favour of the allies. During the whole of 1813 he passed from one success to another, and in July of that year drove Soult across the Pyrenees. Ere doing this, however, Graham had made an unsuccessful assault on San Sebastian, in the account of which, for the first time, appears a name which has, in later days, become justly celebrated. We allude to Lord Clyde, whose recent death is, at the present moment, causing the laments of the whole army:—

"At night, on the 24th, Graham ordered the assault. From the trenches to the points of attack was 300 yards along, and by way of the rocks of the sea-shore, which were in the way of the march and slippery from the quantity of seaweed growing upon them. A detachment, under Colin Campbell, of the 9th (now Lord Clyde), accompanied by the engineer officer, Machet, with a ladder-party, led the way. The 1st Royals, under Major Frazer, and the 38th, under Col. Greville, followed in support. It was quite dark when, at five in the morning, a

globe of compression exploded, to their astonishment, in the midst of the defenders of the horn-work, and made a road for the stormers along the covered way. Frazer and the engineer officer, Harry Jones, first reached the breach, and these brave soldiers rushed up it, expecting that the troops would follow; but, in the dark, the men got scattered, and only attained the foot of the breach in small parties and breathless. They soon mounted, but the steep descent from the top of this breach, which had not been broken, awed the stoutest of them. In fact, it was impossible to get down. In the mean time, some shells from Monte Orgullo fell rapidly into the midst of them, and the enemy, from the houses and the adjoining walls, recovering their confidence, smote with their fire the head of the column. The flanking batteries, which had been prepared for that purpose, now also opened with grape upon the crowded and stationary assailants, and their ranks were torn in a dreadful manner. Frazer was killed amid the flaming buildings; the engineer, Machet, also was killed, and Jones struck down wounded. In vain did Greville, Cameron, Archimbeau, and other regimental officers, strive to rally the men and refill the breach. Campbell again and again ascended it; but, while all who were with him died, he, reserved for greater deeds, was only seriously wounded. Four officers of engineers, including Sir Richard Fletcher, the chief, forty-four officers of the line, and five hundred men, were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners in this dreadful assault. The troops were so clogged and massed that at last they could not move, and it was determined to raise a flag of truce to save the gallant fellows from being devoured by the advancing tide, which already threatened them, and they were surrendered to the enemy."

A second assault, a few weeks later, proved more successful, though the place was only carried at the expense of immense loss. About the middle of October Wellington, yielding to the political arguments of the British ministry, proceeded to pass the Bidassoa and enter France, instead of carrying the war into Catalonia and expelling the last Frenchman from Spain, as his military judgment would have led him to do. In the operations which ensued some severe fighting took place, and here became apparent the promise of a future leader destined in after years to be one of the most distinguished lieutenants of the Colin Campbell who was just then recovering from the wounds he had received at San Sebastian. Giron's Spaniards had striven in vain to take the rocky post of the Hermitage at Sarre:—

"Havelock, an officer of Alten's staff, had been sent by him to see the progress that Giron's Spaniards had made, and came up just at this time. Possessed of a fiery temper, he could not brook the check, but taking off his hat and setting spurs to his horse, he bounded over the abbatis, and led the regiment of Las Ordenas headlong against the enemy, the Spanish soldiers cheering the *chico blanco* (as they called him) and following the impulse. The French, however, rolled down large stones on their advance, which swept away a whole company at a time, and, in spite of everything, retained possession of the post for the night."

The author relates a singular instance of prowess in the cavalry affair at Orthez:—

"An officer of the staff, being on this occasion without a sword, pulled a large stake out of a hedge and encountered two French hussars in succession, whom he overthrew; but a third cut his club in twain, and sent him flying to the rear."

Sir Edward Cust's book includes, besides the campaigns of Napoleon and those in the Peninsula, accounts of the war with Nepal, the capture of Java, and other warlike operations. These, however, pale before the interest of the great European struggle. We shall therefore pass them by without comment.

During the period included in the work before us, no great naval action took place, but for all that our sailors were not idle. In boat actions, combats with single ships, operations



of small squadrons, and in cutting-out expeditions, our Blue Jackets won honour and glory, as well as, generally speaking, success all over the world. The most brilliant of the naval single combats was that which took place on the 1st of June 1813 in sight of Boston, between the English frigate Shannon, Capt. Broke, and the American frigate Chesapeake, Capt. Lawrence. The two ships were of about equal strength. In a quarter of an hour from the discharge of the first gun the Chesapeake was in the possession of the British, and the crowd of pleasure-boats which had come out of Boston for the purpose of witnessing the triumph of their countrymen were obliged to hurry back to shore to escape capture, and the dinner which had been prepared for the entertainment of the victorious Capt. Lawrence was wasted. One of the most striking features of the contest was the conduct of the Shannon's boatswain, Mr. Stevens, who displayed a gallantry and devotion which has never been surpassed in either ancient or modern times.—

"Capt. Broke, now seeing that the Americans were not standing to their guns, rushed forward and ordered the two ships to be lashed together. The Shannon's boatswain, Mr. Stevens, immediately set to work to obey orders, when his left arm was literally hacked off by repeated sabre-cuts from an opponent; but, in spite of this dreadful casualty, the brave fellow fastened the ships together with his right arm, until he fell mortally wounded by a shot from the musketry in the tops."

Up to this time the Americans had generally been successful in encounters between single ships. This was owing to the fact that the American ships carried far more guns and larger crews than was to be expected from their rating. The boiling courage of the English captains, rendered presumptuous by a long series of triumphs, prevented them from shunning an engagement with any ship which nominally, though not actually, was not superior to them in force. The consequence was numerous reverses, till at length our naval supremacy, hitherto unquestioned, seemed about to disappear. Capt. Broke, determined to wipe away the stain of defeat from his profession, had been for some time busily occupied in training his crew—particularly in gunnery,—and had eagerly watched for an opportunity of bringing the question of British naval superiority to an issue,—with what result we have seen. The tidings of his victory was received in England with the utmost enthusiasm. Capt. Broke was looked on as the national champion and was rewarded by a baronetcy and the Order of the Bath.

In conclusion, it only remains for us to say that, though Sir Edward Cust has not derived his information from any hitherto unexplored sources, and presents us with little that is new, yet the compilation which he has published is a valuable addition to military literature.

*Oscar; and Autumnal Gleanings.* By J. H. R. Bayley. (Pitman.)

FOOLS, says Goethe, are the worst kind of thieves; they rob us of time and temper. But why should we permit the fool to rob us of our good temper? Why not turn him to account in the literary theatre, as well as in the amphitheatre, and let him make a little amusement for us? It is ever an incentive to mirth when the humour is unpremeditated. We shall not hurt the sale of 'Oscar,' with such a formidable list of patrons as it has; and as for the author, he must be the last person in the world who will accept our opinion. Nature is very pitiful and kind in all such

cases, and generally makes up for the lack of one quality with a plenitude of others.

The book opens on a portrait of the author. He is, no doubt, acquainted with Addison's gossip concerning the curiosity of readers respecting the writer of a book. Our author has considerably determined to gratify the weakness, and flatter this infirmity of human nature. And a very striking portrait it is. Of course, it was placed here to be looked at; let us look at it. Any one would know those were the eyes of a poet, just as we might recognize a sailor, by the roll; nay, they positively bulge with impressiveness. But when eyes roll, in photography the effect is anything but fine. The book and portrait are dedicated to a Duke, and a long list of patrons, which includes Dukes, Duchesses, Bishops, Marquises, and Earls in abundance. Talk of poetry not being patronized in England! That is no longer a true bill:—it is a libel. Talk of the decline of poetry! Why the fact is it must be in a rapid consumption if this sort of stuff sells. Let us no longer hear of a dearth of poets, or of poetry being in a bad way. Still, just for curiosity's sake, we should like to know how far a man like Mr. Dickens is a conscious and consenting patron of such trash. Here are four pages of letters from patrons. Amongst others there is one from the French Cabinet. The Emperor, we learn, is not in the habit of buying his books in response to begging letters, but as Mr. Bayley is an "Illustrious Stranger" his Majesty waives his usual custom, and does not stand upon ceremony, but takes two copies—one for the Emperor and one for himself. "Bless thee, Bottom," how "thou art translated"—illustrious stranger! A stranger, indeed, at home, and not illustrious. At first we thought it might have been the name of Mr. Bright amongst the patrons that pleaded with the French Cabinet. But, on second thought, we see it was the portrait that did it. "Illustrious Stranger!" that is its natural foot-note of exclamation. When Mason subscribed 5s. for Ann Yearsley, the Milkmaid and "Heaven-born" poet, he put down 4s. 6d. for the Milkmaid and 6d. for the "Heaven-born" genius. So we have no doubt but that his Imperial Majesty subscribed 3s. for the portrait, and 1s. for the poetry. Still, we shudder at what will be thought of the state of literature in England, should the Emperor's patronage tempt any other Frenchman to look into the book.

Here is one letter from "James Harmer," dated eleven years back; it is thus introduced by Mr. Bayley: "This is the celebrated James Harmer of *Weekly Dispatch* notoriety, Lord Mayor popularity, and 'Old Bailey' eloquence"! Mr. Scholefield, M.P., in his note, hopes for a speedy sale of the whole edition. We have no such hope. In this world interests will come into collision, and we speak in the interest of the public.

Having cracked the shell we get at the kernel of the book, and here is rich food for fun. The first poem is in "four cantos"; twice is it so stated in print. But here are only two cantos; the author, like that clever youth who, at the India House Examination, wrote "time up" on nine unfinished papers in succession, could get no further than the second canto, at the end of which we are left, hot with excitement, and coolly told that the other two cantos will appear in the second edition. The patrons will thus be let in for two copies by this little bit of double dealing. Our author knows how to take advantage of that Machiavellian maxim, which tells us it is best to woo Fortune impetuously, because she is a woman and more easily won by a happy audacity.

This poem, 'Oscar,' shows us that the writer's

chief humour is for a tyrant. He can "play Eccles rarely, or a part to tear a cat in." His choice, in this case, is the late Emperor of Russia and his doings in Circassia. The poem opens grandly; the writer, in Norval attitude, wishing to be inspired by the Powers!—

Thou Sun, ye Stars, Moon, Satellites, and spheres,  
With all the fires of heaven that burn and shine!  
I here invoke you, amid hopes and fears,  
To swell with harmony this lyre of mine.  
I would not ask at any other shrine,  
Save what the Almighty rears Himself alone.

—What for?—

To be my guide  
In these my wanderings for a wreath of bay,  
And stir the mainspring of poetic pride  
To move this "frail machine" thro' life's eventful tide.

The whole of the verses form a singular compound of unmeaning blasphemy, bagman smartness, and "Brummagem" sublimity. The touches intended to be humorous and Byronic are ghastly indeed. Here is one:—

His oath I don't remember, but it closed with h—l.

This, again, is meant to be lively:—

Pardon me, reader, for this slight digression;  
This Pegasus of mine's a flirting jade;  
And tho' his form he carries little flesh on,  
The thing would scarce prove prudent to be made  
That curbed his course or ridiculed his aid.  
So let him gallop, canter, walk, or trot,  
Or revel in the light, or seek the shade,—  
His views to me are immaterial what,  
So on proceeds my story—I don't care one jot.

What terror to the critic may be shadowed in the line we have italicized we know not, or what may be the views of a horse; but we can inform the author that he has been about as near to Pegasus as Burns's 'Poet Willie'.

Mr. Bayley appears to be rather fond of "h—l," as he delicately puts it. In some lines on Tombstones we find this choice morsel:—

Ye lie! as each one of you, head over head,  
Out-Herods its fellow in praise of the dead.  
To prove the assertion I'm well prepared,  
As far as "old time" goes with what's declared:  
In eternity were I, p'raps demons might tell  
Me, what's chisell'd here truth's made a lie in h—l.

—Perhaps the demons might. Still, the poet's prospect in eternity, according to his own showing, is but a poor look-out. Not but what he has a perfect right to speak for himself in such a matter; he should know best. But we must protest against this sweeping assertion:—

All men are rogues, and instinct thrives by rapine!  
A broad assertion, but a sterling fact.  
The Crown lives on the Nation:—in its turn,  
The sceptred head is rated by the courtier,  
The courtier by the knave less scrupulous:  
The public barks the public;—and so down  
On to the meanest beggar in the streets,  
That craves in charity for very aims!  
All men are rogues! without exception, all!  
And he thrives most the more adept a villain.

That is the positive philosophy with a vengeance. The holder of such a creed may very fairly put forth the "Devil's Advertisement," as one of the pieces is called. The Devil is here supposed to keep a pawn-shop, or, as the author elegantly phrases it, a "two-to-one." This is the ghastly conclusion, meant to be witty. The italics are not ours.—

We're not partikler to a shade  
What kind of articles we take in,  
So that we do a slap-up trade,—  
For we are always wide awake.

N.B.—We further state, no flaw  
Thro' any fault or mishap rises;  
For over all the D.—It's claw  
Is placed, whilst he divides the prizes.

And as we are so precious crammed,  
'T has to my friends far better deemed  
That I should stow away the d—d,  
And they, of course, THE UNREDEEMED.

This again, is printed and italicized as an 'Epigram on my old friend John Steele':—

A sharper blade was never whet (wet),  
Or one that cut things better neither;  
Yet never wanted to be set  
To cut a friend or brother either.

—That is the sort of thing which our author can do with premeditation. This is an "Impromptu," on being asked what he thought of the world:—

The world's a rapid ball that rolls and rolls,  
Pursued by millions of poor eager souls,  
Which, when obtained, as anxious hounds do game,  
Is looked on, left, and done with—just the same.

Some of the statements are as wonderful as the above is silly. We are told that Shakespeare caught the "Promethean flame" at a "Stratford shrine" while "whistling by his team o'er turf and fallow," and that Demosthenes used the pebbles to "clear and strengthen Nature's bane."

In conclusion, our author, with the utmost satisfaction over his italicized senselessness, tells us—

My Book's before you, with its plain contents  
Fresh from the goose-quill.

—He has no misgiving with respect to that last word.

He says if the young and inexperienced will only benefit from his writings, his "*end is answered*." We have done what we could to benefit the "young and inexperienced" in the matter; but the author's end will certainly not be answered until, like Falstaff, he gets his "catastrophe tickled." We should not have permitted Mr. Bayley to share our readers' leisure, were it not for the advantage, not to be despised by us, of seeing what kind of poetry is patronized by the French Cabinet, an English Bishop, four Dukes, a large number of Earls and Lords, and which Sir R. Peel thinks "very spirited" in execution.

*Fasti Eboracenses. Lives of the Archbishops of York.* By the Rev. W. H. Dixon, M.A. Edited and Enlarged by the Rev. James Raine, M.A. Vol. I. (Longman & Co.)

THE late Canon Dixon passed many laborious years in collecting materials for the 'Lives of the Archbishops of York.' These materials have been arranged, applied and improved by the Secretary of the Surtees Society. He has found amongst them the straw wherewith to make bricks, and the bricks themselves he has reared into the first of two courses of a goodly edifice,—the foundations of which were dug out and laid by the Canon, without whose preliminary work the structure itself could not have been built, at least, in the shape and strength which distinguish it, to the height which it reaches, in the present volume.

The volume itself professes to be nothing more than biography; something which enables the reader to learn what was thought, done and believed by dignitaries of the Church, of whom we know little but the names, and often not so much, in certain times. Of the times themselves there is no profession to speak. We have the portraiture of men only, and, says Mr. Raine, "This book is addressed *ad clerum* rather than *ad populum*, to the bees and not the butterflies."

And herein is involved a great mistake. The butterflies, as Mr. Raine chooses to call the whole body of laymen, are anxious to learn the history of the rulers in the Church. In that direction lie pastures new, over which they would willingly roam and reap instruction, and escape from the pernicious French school of novels within which English novel-writers are imprisoning the intellects of the young especially. That the butterflies do not desire to be so imprisoned is clear from the pleasure which they have experienced in sipping from those flowers of biography, bound up in that popular nosegay, Dean Hook's 'Archbishops of Canterbury.' Dr. Hook was too wise to say—"Stand off, you butterflies! this is fare for the bees;" he knew that bee and butterfly might drink at the same sweet source, and be refreshed. Mr. Raine thinks otherwise; he professedly caters only for the hive, and providing matter for the bees and their co-mates the drones, to drowsily hum

over, he leaves the poor butterflies in ignorance; but, perhaps, cheerfully winging heavenward without him.

This will at once indicate to our readers the difference between the series of lives of the Primates of the Southern Province and that of the lives of the Archbishops of the Northern. In this first volume of five hundred pages, we have the biographies of prelates from Paulinus to Thoresby,—a period, in round numbers, of seven centuries and a half, from A.D. 627 to A.D. 1373.

Some little more fullness of detail will be possible in the second volume, but not much, for this first volume gives the twenty-three prelates from Paulinus to Aldred, the last of the Saxons (627–1060), and the twenty-two since the Conquest, from Aldred to Thoresby (1060–1373):—in all, forty-five. There remain, therefore, forty-three archbishops, from Neville, the successor of Thoresby, to Longley (now at Canterbury), the predecessor of the present prelate, Dr. Thompson, (1374–1862). If the second portion be brought down to this last period, we shall have the lives of nearly ninety eminent men in two volumes. This may suffice for the bees; but it is food too hardly and closely compressed for the butterflies, supposing they were invited to taste of it.

In this compression, however, Mr. Raine has exhibited great skill, and undergone more labour than if he had written ten times as diffusely. There is no toil in literature of this sort so heavy as that which is not seen. The marks of it, and the footsteps and other signs of the labourer are, nevertheless, discernible to the critic at every step, in the condensed sentences, pregnant with facts, and in the multitude of references which almost weary the eye, but for which the really working bees ought to be grateful to both Canon Dixon and the reverend editor and enlarger of the Canon's materials.

Where the lives are so numerous, and the space comparatively so small, the former necessarily take the form of very thin pamphlets, and, unnecessarily, the spirit which often distinguishes mere tracts. There is a scanty outline and a supplement of eulogy. The latter, however, is better than the facts born of the imagination of one writer, accepted by the enthusiasm of a second, and exaggerated by the superstition or fanaticism of a third, such as disfigured what might have been a very useful, and which proved a very pernicious book, the 'Lives of the English Saints.'

On the other hand, there is, in the first portion of this volume, a rather wearisome succession of super-excellent men. They have their apotheosis in their respective biographies; and while we have a profound respect for them and do not doubt the value of goodness, we cannot help feeling that the continued narration of goodness is, after all, a very trying process,—for the writer, we should imagine,—for the reader, we are sure. There are so many of these good men who receive the incense of Eternal Sameness, that when we come to a decidedly wicked individual we are positively delighted to make his acquaintance. We do not, of course, approve of his wickedness, but the good people are so very dull that we are glad to meet with a little sprightly naughtiness; we are sorry that such naughtiness ever had action, but we are not sorry at all to read about it. Accordingly, after a long bead-roll of all the virtues made incarnate and dull in the persons of prelates, for which and for whom we entertain great admiration, and feel some amiable antagonism,—enter Alfric Puttoc, and we arouse ourselves! An Archbishop, who is called Alfric the Kite, comes as glorious kings do in dull old tragedies,

with a "flourish," and you know that something uncommon will wait upon their coming. So with this Alfric. He is a man who does not abide in his church from morn to eve, nor lie on hard mats at home, nor condescend to make himself ill on a dinner of beech-nuts, nor in the cup filled at the fountain find a spell against the ills of mortality. The Kite bestirs himself in public affairs. When Hardicanute is king, and about to inherit the manor of Walworth from his rich Jester, Hit-hard, Alfric suggests that he shall cast the headless body of Harold Harefoot into the Thames; and it is done. Then the people of Worcester, naturally adverse to paying taxes, kill two of the king's tax-gatherers; and, on the Kite's advice, Hardicanute first plunders the city and then burns it. This must have been a soothing spectacle to Alfric, who especially hated the Worcester folk, because the canons there had once refused to elect him for their bishop. Desecration, cruelty, robbery, incendiarism,—"all this," says Mr. Raine, "does not place the Archbishop before us in a favourable light." Quite the contrary. In the abstract, as moralists, we condemn him; but, positively, as readers much wearied with the heavy precedent, we are glad he did it!

It is not always, we think, that in the preceding narrative referred to, Mr. Raine renders strict justice to his heroes. Here, for instance, is the famous Northumbrian king, St. Edwin, who founded a cathedral and a city,—the former at York, and the latter at Edwin's Burgh, or Edinburgh. He had previously been a Pagan king, who had seen much adversity in his youth, but had encountered happy fortune, and married a Christian Kentish Princess, and promised Paulinus to become a Christian himself, but was always deferring this consummation till the Christian deity should do something for him in battle. Edwin does not seem to us a dishonest Pagan, but one of strong religious principle according to his knowledge. We understand nothing of the heathen,—whether of him who worshipped Thor, or of him who flung incense to Jove, or of him who rendered homage at the altar of Zeus, if we conclude that he was not sincerely worshipping before what he had been taught to consider divine, and to admit treason to which even in thought was as repulsive as painful. Edwin seems to have been one who revered what he believed was worthy of veneration; he would not surrender his old faith till he found virtue in the new, by giving him victory in battle, nor even then till he had summoned the famous council at Godmundingham, where his own chief priests acknowledged that their own religion had proved a cheat even to them, and where a majority resolved that the Christian faith should be acknowledged in its stead.

Edwin came to a logical conclusion: the God of the Christians had protected his life from the assassin, had made him the vanquisher of his enemies, and had given the power to Paulinus to convince the Northumbrian heathen clergy that their faith was without foundation; all this was strongly impressed on the royal Pagan by Paulinus, and Edwin was baptized into his wife's faith on the spot where now stands the glorious cathedral of York, of which he was the first founder. The worthy Northumbrian people, who took the truth on the King's and the missionary's showing, must have been very much perplexed when, some time after, their new-made Christian King was beaten and slain in battle, at Heathfield, by a Saxon king whose altars were raised only to idols.

For this English king who taught the Scots where to find beauty, by founding a city in the very lap of it, we have always entertained a great measure of regard, not particularly as



St. Edwin, but because he declined to forsake his ancient faith till the rude logic of facts, in his case, seemed to give him warranty for the change. He was, at first, an honestly obstinate heathen, then as honest a sceptic, and when the spark of truth had shot forth from the agitation of thought, he became as honest a Christian. It says something for the effectual religious instruction of those days, that when this saintly king fell before his idolatrous enemy, his people did not, forthwith, relapse. They, doubtless, had instructors who could tell them that, in individual calamity, they were not always to look for the angry judgment of God.

We now proceed to give some taste of the quality of this volume, and do not see why even the butterflies should not feed on the following leaf:—

"John, or, as he is generally called, St. John of Beverley, is said to have been the son of noble parents, and to have been born at Harpham in the East Riding of Yorkshire. In his youth he was entrusted to the care of Archbishop Theodore, who educated him, and gave to him his name of John. Subsequently he became one of the pupils of Hilda, the Abbess of Streonshal, 'a circumstance,' as Fuller observes, 'which soundeth something to her honour and nothing to his disgrace, seeing eloquent Apollon himself learned the primar of his Christianity partly from Priscilla.' He is claimed, also, by the University of Oxford as her first Master of Arts. We may conclude, therefore, that he was a person of more than ordinary learning. 'His light,' as his biographer Folcard observes, 'was not hid under a bushel.' He soon began to preach the Gospel to the people. He arrested their attention by his eloquence and learning; and his holy life winged his words to their hearts. At the same time he did not neglect his own scholastic studies. Like every person of consequence and ability he was the centre of a circle of pupils who came to him for instruction. He was an excellent expounder of the Scriptures, and was well versed in history and other subjects. Among those who profited by his teaching was the venerable Beda, whom he afterwards ordained. It was no slight honour to have been the master of such a scholar, and it was, probably, from John that Beda derived that taste for historical pursuits which has won for him an undying reputation."

Here is something of a prelate as famous as John or Beda, the honey of the knowledge of whom must not be all reserved for the bees. The picture of the founder of a library is worth looking at:—

"Not only did Albert devote his energies to the school-room, but it was his ambition to leave behind him a splendid collection of books for the benefit of his college. There were some there already which Egbert had collected, but Albert may be called the founder of that library, although his predecessor had begun it. He was anxious that the fruits of his zeal should survive to generations yet unborn, long after his own lips were silent. Books, as he well knew, were

The only men that speak aloud for future times to hear. And he resolved to leave behind him a noble library for the benefit of posterity. This would ensure to the North of England a continuance of the school for which York was now so famous, for wherever there was a library there would be students, and wherever there was learning the light of religion would never be extinguished. To gather books together in that illiterate age was a noble enterprise, but Albert was not appalled by the difficulty of the undertaking. He threw himself into it with all the ardour of a bibliomaniac. The English collections could not allay his thirst for literature. More than once did he cross the seas with Alcuin for his companion, never caring for the perils with which the traveller was beset, if only he could secure some of the precious tomes that he saw for his library at home. Italy was one of the countries that he visited, and he wandered among its monasteries and shrines on the same ground which, in a later age, tempted the author

of the 'Philobiblon' to desert his monarch and his see. The treasures which fascinated Poggio and Petrarch were as yet unknown, and there were no Medici to patronize and commend. Albert had a welcome everywhere, for his reputation had preceded him. Fain would they have detained him in Italy to scatter there the rich seeds of learning which were springing up in England, but he would not desert his scholars and his school. He came back to York, bringing with him the treasures that he had collected."

Mr. Raine is hardly too severe, in the above passage, on Richard de Bury, the author of that pleasant rhapsody, the *Philobiblon*, who loved books, and stole King Edward's money wherewith to buy them. But then he made compensation by leaving them all to Oxford, as a "lending library,"—but only to clerics. "Ledgers," said he, "are fit reading for tradesmen," and he named other books for other men; but his books were for the clerks only; or, as Mr. Raine has it, for the bees and not for the butterflies.

And *à propos* of picking and stealing, there was much loose morality in the matter. See how the owners of stolen property fared, when the latter was recovered from the thieves. The author is speaking of some good deeds of the "Kite":—

"He was a noble benefactor to Beverley and Peterborough. On the 25th of October, 1037, he took up the remains of his predecessor, St. John, and translated them to a new shrine with a gorgeous ceremonial. John had been canonized in the same year, probably at Alfric's request. The bones were placed in a rich case, bright with gold and silver and precious stones, which was deposited in a feretory of cunning workmanship and marvellous design. In the same church he established a sacrist, a chancellor and a precentor, and added to the endowments by purchasing and presenting lands in Middleton, Fridaythorpe and Holm. He also obtained from Edward the Confessor a grant of three annual fairs to be held in Beverley. To the abbey of Peterborough he was also most munificent. He bestowed upon it some precious vestments and plate. Their end was an unfortunate one. About the year 1100 some Flemish and French thieves broke into that famous monastery and stole a large cross, which stood upon the altar, set with gems, two chalices with their patens, and two candlesticks, all of pure gold, which had been given by Archbishop Alfric. The robbers were subsequently captured, but their booty came into the possession of the king."

With these examples and comments we consign this work to the bees for whom it was intended; but there is matter in it, nevertheless, of considerable interest to the butterflies.

*The Gospels*—[*Les Évangiles*, par Gustave d'Eichthal]. 2 vols. (Paris.)

THE French have evidently caught up the spirit of the Germans on critical questions, and therefore books are now appearing in France manifesting the kind of research for which German scholars are distinguished. The book before us is the result of ten years' study, and embraces no more than the first three Gospels; that of John being reserved for another volume. The learned author shows considerable ability in the execution of his design, which is an investigation and comparison of the four records in all their peculiarities; and the work must be hereafter indispensable to the critical student of the New Testament, as well as to every reflecting, philosophically-minded reader who wishes to get beyond the few traditional ideas respecting the sacred Evangelists that have so long satisfied the majority of Christians. Here the harmony and discrepancy of the Gospels are brought out with a breadth of view and minuteness of analysis highly instructive. After a long Introduction, giving the author's general

sentiments about the person of Jesus and the memoirs of him preserved by the four Evangelists, he sets forth a comparative text of the gospel history, arranged in Matthew's order. The whole is distributed into seven parts, which are subdivided into paragraphs. Forty-five passages are separated from Matthew, because they are looked upon as interpolations in the first gospel, posterior to the redaction of Mark's, and the greater part of them posterior even to Luke's. These are termed *annexes*. The discussion of them occupies upwards of a hundred pages, and displays the critical powers of the writer most favourably. The *annexes*, or later interpolations, in Mark's gospel are represented as few—only seven according to M. d'Eichthal,—and their investigation occupies about eight pages.

The second volume is concerned with Luke's gospel alone. In the first place, the text is given, with the corresponding passages of Matthew or Mark. This is followed by the *annexes*, or interpolated passages, thirteen in number, and all comparatively short, except the history of the infancy. The critic next gives an examination of Luke's gospel in its relations to those of Matthew and Mark; after which he has a number of notes on the text of Luke, and two useful tables for comparing Mark and Luke throughout.

The peculiar views of the writer chiefly appear in the Introduction and the *annexes*. Here, too, his competency for philosophical and critical analysis must be judged of. M. d'Eichthal agrees with the views of Hilgenfeld, which are, that Matthew's gospel, which was the first, was redacted or edited between A.D. 50 and 60, but was enlarged a little after the destruction of Jerusalem by additions made from the standpoint of Christianity being a universal system; that Mark's gospel was an abridgment of Matthew's, made in the last twenty years of the first century; that Luke's, which is a Pauline work, was redacted or edited towards 100 A.D. by the help of the preceding two combined; and that John's gospel appeared about A.D. 130, amid the heat of the Gnostic movement, and in the circle where the apostle's influence was most powerfully preserved.

There are grave objections to these conclusions, which M. d'Eichthal has not dissipated. In fact, he has not fully solved the problem of the Gospels any more than Baur and Hilgenfeld. He has only made a contribution towards it, and cleared part of the way. Many things he sees plainly enough, and enunciates very correctly. But there are more which he has not explained, and where he is in error. In vain have we looked in his pages for light on the exact relation between the original or Aramaean Matthew and the present Greek edition; as well as upon the parts which the Evangelists themselves unquestionably wrote, and the later additions which, in the opinion of many, were incorporated with their authentic pieces. The elaborate discussions in what are called the *annexes* do not clear up this part of the subject to the satisfaction of a critic.

No theory which puts the four Gospels so late as is here done appears to us correct. The fourth gospel is not yet proved to have been posterior to the apostle whose name it bears, notwithstanding the efforts of the Tübingen school to bring out that result. It has not been satisfactorily shown that Mark's gospel is an abridgment of Matthew's. But much light has been thrown on the nature of the Greek Matthew and on Luke's gospel, especially the latter. What is most wanted is a better knowledge of the exact relation subsisting between the Aramaean *λόγια* of Matthew himself, and the present Greek gospel which bears his name.

The volumes of M. d'Eichthal are creditable to his persevering study and critical power of comparing texts, as well as of disengaging them from later interpolations. They do not, indeed, evince the hand of a master critic; yet they present abundant evidence of learning, talent and ingenuity. They form a link in the series of discussions now in progress, which are all tending to one result—the establishment of processes of *redaction* through which the gospel records early passed, with a consequent development of ideas among the apostles and early Christians.

## NEW NOVELS.

*Martin Pole.* By John Saunders. 2 vols. (Tinsley Brothers).—Martin Pole is the son of a proud Madame Pole, who once was hard-hearted to the poor, and refused to relieve an old gipsy wife, who cursed her and declared that her son should die on his twenty-first birthday, and that on that day she herself would come and see the working of the curse; adding, with devilish refinement, "it may not be till the last hour, but look for me then; it may not be till the last second of the striking of the clock, but even then look for me." The proud lady is fairly frightened to death, though nobody knows what is the matter with her. On her deathbed she confides her secret to an old retainer, entreating him to watch over her son, especially on the day of doom. The poor boy has been an unsuspected listener, and the knowledge of this curse, acting on a nervous, fragile body, nearly works its own fulfilment. A wicked half-brother, who would inherit the property after him, aggravates the fear produced by the prophecy as much as possible; and works on his brother Martin's imagination to such an extent that on his twenty-first birthday he nearly dies of fright; but old Mathew, the faithful servant, sets himself to circumvent him, and in order to carry his master through the dreaded day, he induces different persons to come and tell him stories or to read manuscripts: these tales are set in the foregoing framework. In the end, old Mathew succeeds in unmasking the wicked machinations of the half-brother, and rouses all the energy latent in the poor doomed youth to shake off his superstition; and, by the confession of a gipsy woman, the very pitiful nature of the beldame who uttered the curse is made manifest. The book ends with the belling and rejoicing proper when an heir comes of age. This framework is, as the reader may see, somewhat nonsensical; but the tales are told with a fervour and eloquence which carry the reader along. The different stories vary in interest; the best tale, though it is extravagant, is called "The Haunted Crust." "To Christina" is also good; but there is an overstrained attempt at rhetoric which disfigures the author's style: he would gain by simplicity.

*The Cream of a Life.* By a Man of the World. 3 vols. (Bentley).—Those who take an interest in club life, Guardsman's life and fashionable young men's life, as it was in the days of the dandies, will find a good deal here to interest them. 'The Cream of a Life,' in spite of its affected title, is written by a man who does not want for sense, who is unmistakably a gentleman in his tone and feeling, and who can write good, unaffected English, which is a virtue by no means plentiful in modern novels. The book is, we suppose, called 'The Cream of a Life' because it is a chronicle of what has risen to the surface from the aggregate of unconsidered days and hours. It is not a bad result, by any means; the hero might face Rhadamanthus without much misgiving. There is a manly, honest, straightforward tone throughout: the incidents are not very romantic, but they have a genuine interest; the observations and reflections are marked by good sense and good feeling, and have a dash of practicality, which is an advantage that good advice does not always possess, for it is generally a *miaft* for the particular occasion. Here is a word about letter-writing, not new, but seldom minded:—"No one who had read it could refuse to admit that the letter in which that remonstrance

was conveyed was forcibly and ably written. But, dear reader, when in family or friendly misunderstandings did you ever know any good come of a *clever letter*? Do these documents, however flowing in style, apposite in illustration, and conclusive in argument, ever fail to widen the breach which has called them into existence, and which, if they are very clever indeed, they usually bid fair to perpetuate? How many childish tiffs have they not expanded into serious quarrels?—how many warmly attached friends have they not estranged for life? Spoken remonstrances may be severe and even intemperate without doing much harm; but your measured, deliberate sarcasm in black and white,—your polished but cutting sarcasm,—above all your placid assumption of argumentative triumph and high moral infallibility—ingredients all usually to be found in 'a clever letter,' remain as a record of much that had far better be obliterated from the memory of both parties. \* \* Tell him to his face that he is an ass, prove it to him syllogistically if you like, provided that the demonstration is performed *vivd voce*; but if he be your friend, never sit down in cold blood to the writing-desk to confute him into an enemy." The hero is represented as a high Tory of the days when Toryism was the creed of a gentleman; the reader of opposite persuasions will forgive the difference, because it is not made disagreeable, and because it has the result of keeping him always in well-bred, good company. There is throughout an instinctive consideration for the feelings of others, not assumed for the sake of standing well as a hero, but an evidently unconscious habit of mind, which gives a pleasant and wholesome flavour to the work. The reader will feel unaffectedly glad when General Ormsby brings to a happy conclusion his faithful and long-enduring attachment to Mary Conyers.

*A Disputed Inheritance: a Tale of a Cornish Family.* By Thomas Hood. (Low & Co.).—There is a great deal that is very clever in this story: witty turns of phrase, which remind us of the elder Thomas Hood; but the tale itself is wild, unequal and imperfectly wrought out,—resembling the driving clouds of a stormy day rather than the well-conceived and well-knit incidents of human art. The story begins well; the description of Cornish scenery is fresh and natural, but the tale which Sir Abel tells quite gratuitously when he is dying about his very questionable Italian marriage, the plot of the half-brother to obtain the estate, the unscrupulous lawyer, the forged bill, by which he has fallen into the power of the equally unscrupulous Denzil, their clumsy compact, the forced and foolish incidents of the journey into Italy after Father Seraphicus and the marriage certificate, belong to the school of old-fashioned novels. Aubyn's rage and despair at learning the treachery that has been practised, with the climax of turning highwayman and meeting with the very man who is bringing the much-desired certificate, are unworthy of Mr. Hood's power of contrivance. The tableau of Denzil going suddenly mad in the Justice-hall at the revelation of his villainies, and the suicide of the lawyer, suggest the haste in which the invention of the author was employed. The style is superior to the matter. We expect Mr. Hood to succeed much better in his next story. If he will only take time and pains, he has the power to write a good novel; but he must bestow care upon the construction of his plot to make it hang well together, and he must develop his characters with something besides epithets, or else his work will be like the hasty fruit which falls from the tree before it attains flavour or ripeness. He has talent, and it behoves him to treat his endowments with respect by always doing his best.

*Philip Lisle: a Novel.* By the Author of 'The Two Households.' 3 vols. (Newby).—Philip Lisle has some good parts in it, but, as a whole, it is thin and poor. There is a lack of substantial interest. Instead of a plot, the author gives sketches of character of persons who do not interest the reader, with the addition of long and trivial conversations, which flatten the story and weaken the action. In these days, readers require some broader subject of interest than

the love affairs of young men and maidens. Jessie Munro, the heroine-in-chief, is the daughter of a father and mother who are in straitened circumstances. Jessie is attached to a young clergyman named Maudesley, who loves her, though she does not know it. She is worked upon by her father to marry a certain Sir Joseph Sharpe, a rich, sordid merchant, with goggle eyes and a detestable disposition; of course she is very miserable, and too late she discovers that Maudesley loves her desperately. The lover writes a letter to tell her so, which excites her husband's jealousy. Sharpe scolds her pompously, and here is the effect produced:—"The beauteous figure, garbed in black, was left standing alone! The graceful throat rigid, the wondrous eyes staring wide! An exquisite impersonation of distress!" The father dies of drinking, soon after her marriage; and Sir Joseph becomes bankrupt and cuts his throat. After a decent period of woe and poverty, all ends happily. The rest of the couples are married, and Jessie and Maudesley are happy at last.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Poet's Children.* By Mary Howitt. (Ben nett.)—Here is a charming story about the pigeons in the poet's pigeon-cot. The conversations among the different inmates, the sketches of character, and their characteristic opinions, are capital. If any of our readers when children ever read Mrs. Trimmer's story of 'The Robins,' he will own that this tale about the pigeons is even better. Old Jessy, the prosperous, fussy father of a family, coming in after his evening airing with an account of what was doing at the rookery,—how the key of the pantry-door was lost, and the placid amiable inability of Crow his wife to understand or believe in distress, are admirably told. There are other stories in the book which are also very pretty. 'The Twin Sisters' will interest young readers, but for our own part we vote for the story of the pigeons, as not only the best in the book, but the best we have read of the kind for a long time. 'The Poet's Children' is an excellent gift-book, and we recommend it to all who have nephews and nieces and godchildren; it is sure to be popular among the juvenile critics.

*A Guide to the Unprotected in Every-Day Matters relating to Property and Income.* By a Banker's Daughter. (Macmillan & Co.).—Seldom consult ladies in business matters; they usually know little or nothing of business. It is much like the blind leading the blind." This is the advice which the lady who writes this book gives the Unprotected, and, no doubt, the advice is good. Is this lady author an exception to the rule? In spite of some little inaccuracies, and the extreme simplicity of some of her remarks—as, for instance, that you should select a safe and respectable bank for the deposit of your money—we think she is. She writes expressly for those who know nothing, and such persons may gain some information from this little book.

*Glossary of Navigation.* By the Rev. J. R. Harbord. (Blackwood & Sons).—This is a useful dictionary of navigation, and rather more: it somewhat resembles a small work on navigation with the articles in alphabetical order. Our readers must understand that navigation is the art of taking the ship from place to place: all that relates to the ship and her working is *seamanship*. Thus a man might be a superb navigator without knowing one mast from another; but he would be a poor seaman. We were reminded of this by the name of the author. Seeing Harbord, we immediately looked out *starboard* and *larboard*, just to see whether the author gave the date of the great change; but we found neither term, of course. By the great change, we mean the substitution of *port* for *larboard*: how two words so alike were distinguished when they came through the speaking-trumpet in a gale of wind, we never could tell.

*Meteorographica; or, Methods of Mapping the Weather.* Illustrated by upwards of 600 Lithographed Diagrams referring to the Weather of a Large Part of Europe during the Month of December 1861. By F. Galton, F.R.S. (Macmillan & Co.).—This title gives all the description we can give,

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without actual description of the symbols; these are clear and intelligible, and the author and the process of colour-printing must divide the merit between them. The complex types are large and boldly cut, but they would bear a considerable diminution of size, and this they must undergo if they come into general use.

*Algebra for Beginners.* By J. Todhunter, M.A. (Macmillan & Co.)—An introduction to the larger work by the same author, and also well adapted to the wants of those who do not aspire so high.

*A Second Defence of the Queen's English.* By G. W. Moon. (Hatchard.)—This controversy, of which we noticed the first part, is going on, and the combatants are at sharp terms; it is now comparatively uninteresting.

*The Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin Messenger of Mathematics.* No. 6. Vol. II. (Macmillan & Co.)—This number is perhaps a little more elementary than some have seen.

*Companion to Tate's First Principles of Arithmetic, being a Treatise on the Rules and Operations of Arithmetic.* By T. Tate. (Longman & Co.)—This work takes in from vulgar fractions upwards, including a large body of commercial arithmetic.

*Lessing and Goetz.*—[*Lessing und Goetz*, von August Boden.] (Leipzig, Winter; London, Williams & Norgate.)—This book is not to be read alone, inasmuch as it forms part of a controversy which has lately arisen in the German literary world on the subject of that old theological fight between Lessing and Goetz, which arose on the subject of the famous Wolfenbüttel Fragments. It has generally been considered that the Lutheran pastor was completely defeated by his free-thinking antagonist; but, in the interests of orthodoxy, one Herr Röpe has decided otherwise, and in a book called 'Johann Melchior Göze, eine Rettung (a rescue),' has endeavoured to reverse the positions of the combatants. Herr August Boden, determined not to let Herr Röpe walk over the course, takes up the pen to remonstrate.

Of religious and other publications we have to mention—*Dr. Colenso and the Pentateuch*, a Lecture, by the Rev. J. N. Griffin (Hodges, Smith & Co.),—*A Key to Bishop Colenso's Biblical Arithmetic*, by the Rev. T. Lund (Longman),—*Your Child's Baptism: the Importance of Infant Baptism, a Letter to a Friend who had been Disquieted on the Subject by Anabaptist Relatives*, by the Rev. G. Venables (Macintosh),—*Mrs. Ruffles: Worry, Worry, from Morning till Night; or, the Blind Boy his Mother's Comfort*, by the Author of 'Old Peter Pious' (Macintosh),—*Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, with an Introduction on the Relations of England to Christianity*, by the Rev. Dr. H. E. Manning (Duffy),—*Sermons in Plain Language adapted to the Poor*, by the Rev. W. H. Ridley (Mozley),—*A Second Plain Tract on Confirmation*, by the Rev. W. H. Ridley (Mozley),—*The Irish Daisy; or, Elizabeth, the Happy Sunday Scholar*, by a Clergyman (Snow),—*Prayers for Sunday Schools* (Skeffington),—*Mr. Yates's Letters to the Women of England on Slavery in the Southern States of America, considered especially in reference to the Condition of the Female Slaves* (Snow),—*Mr. Buckman's Address (on Resigning his Professorship) to E. Holland, Chairman of Council of the Agricultural College, Cirencester* (Cirencester, Bailly),—*The Billos Costs: its Pains and Penalties*, by Murdo Young,—*The Use of Salt in Agriculture: Prize Essays published by the Salt Chamber of Commerce of Northwick* (Simpkin),—*Magnopathy: the Philosophy of Health*, by Hillert Perry (Bentley),—*Sixth Annual Report of the Grange House School, Edinburgh, with Outline of the Course of Study, Prize List, &c.* (Constable),—*Our Monetary System, the Fallacies on which it is Based, and a Proposed System by which Commercial Panics can be Prevented*, by R. Webster (Liverpool, Howell), and *Suez Canal: Report of John Hawkshaw to the Egyptian Government* (Lane).

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Alford's *Sermons on Christian Doctrine*, 2nd edit. cr. 8vo. 7/6 cl.  
Arnold's *Henry's First Latin Book*, 17th edit. revised, 12mo. 3/4 cl.  
Ashworth's *Strange Tales of Humble Life*, 12mo. 2/6 cl.  
Battle Won. *The, an Epic Poem*, by a Churlishian, 8vo. 10/6 cl.  
Black's *Guide to Derbyshire*, new edit. 12mo. 2/6 cl.  
Black's *Handbook for Kent*, 12mo. 1/6 cl.  
Black's *New Maps of Scotland*, Sheets 1 to 15, 2/6 each, cloth cases.  
Bolton's *Brook Farm*, new edit. 12mo. 2/6 cl.

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Life by Scott, new edit. cr. 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Chambers's *Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5, new, 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Channing's *Literary Works*, 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Chope's *Congregational Hymn & Tune Book*, 1/6 cl. swd.; 2/6 cl. bds.  
Clark's *Plain Guide to Spiritualism*, cr. 8vo. 6/6 cl.  
Comer's *History of Italy*, new edit. 12mo. 2/6 cl.  
Dodd's *Three Weeks in Majora*, post 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Fleming's *Select Readings from Poets & Prose Writers*, 12mo. 4/6 cl.  
Gatty's *Fables from Nature*, 11th edit. 12mo. 3/6 cl.  
Hamilton's *Poems and Essays*, 2nd edit. 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Initials, *The*, by the Author of 'Quits,' 6th edit. cr. 8vo. 6/6 cl.  
Krumpholtz's *Risen Redeemer*, trans. by Betts, 2nd edit. 5/6 cl.  
Marsh's *Prayers for the Sick and Sorrowful*, 12mo. 1/6 cl.  
May's *Laws of Parliament*, 6th edit. enlarged 8vo. 32/6 cl.  
Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Vol. 3, trans. by Dickson, 10/6 cl.  
Monod's *Farewell*, new edit. 12mo. 3/6 cl.  
Montgomery's *Signs and Symptoms of Pregnancy*, 2nd edit. 25/6 cl.  
Neale's *Analogy of Thought and Nature Investigated*, 7/6 cl.  
Pearson's *Analysis of Human Mind*, 8vo. 5/6 cl.  
Phillipott's *Addresses to his Clergy*, 1863, 8vo. 1/6 swd.  
Rhind's *Faithful unto Death: a Memoir*, 12mo. 1/6 cl.  
Shirley's *Golden Gleamings, Sketches Female Character*, cr. 8vo. 3/6 cl.  
Tait's *Seeds of Thought*, cr. 8vo. 4/6 cl.  
Thoughts on Population, &c., by 'Agrestis,' post 8vo. 4/6 cl.  
Village Sermons, by a Northamptonshire Rector, cr. 8vo. 6/6 cl.  
Wigham's *Anti-Slavery Cause in America*, cr. 8vo. 2/6 cl.  
William's *Dogs and their Ways*, 8vo. 3/6 cl.  
Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, new edit. cr. 8vo. 5/6 cl.

JULIUS CÆSAR'S INVASION OF ENGLAND.  
(Concluded from p. 212.)

In his first invasion of Britain Cæsar carried over with him two legions, probably from 8,000 to 10,000 men. Some of his vessels in the "further port" could not join him for the wind. His means of transport were eighty ships of burthen, and a certain number of "long ships" or galleys, perhaps in all a hundred sail. On the fourth day after he reached Britain there was a full moon, and we may, with much probability, fix the day of his sailing to the 25th of August in the year 55 B.C. He weighed anchor at midnight (B. G., IV. xxiii.), and as it was half-way to low water at that time on the French coast, and as the *Portus Icius* was, no doubt, a tidal harbour, he must have brought out his ships at high water, and sailed from the offing.

The wind was suitable (*idonea tempestas*) and as on his second invasion he sailed with a south-west wind (B. G., V. viii.), and as a south-west wind would keep the vessels in the "further port" wind-bound, we may presume that he sailed with the wind in that quarter. The presumption is strengthened on our finding, that when on the occasion of his second transit he first ordered his troops on board, he uses the very same expression, and speaks of the wind as "suitable" (B. G., V. vii.). If, then, he steered for Dover, he would have the wind nearly abeam or at right angles to his course. His first vessels reached the opposite coast by 10 the next morning, but the whole fleet was not assembled till 3 in the afternoon. He found the cliffs covered with armed men, and so closely was the sea hemmed in by these cliffs, that a missile could be hurled from the heights upon the shore.† Like Halley and the majority of our English antiquaries, I recognize in this description the cliffs near Dover, and I suppose that Cæsar's fleet was moored in Dover-vice, the roadstead which lies between Dover and the South Foreland, and is commanded by the guns of the Castle.

The slowness of the passage is remarkable. The vessels of burthen, which of course were the laggards, were country-built ships. These Gaulish vessels are elsewhere described by Cæsar (B. G., III. xiii.). Their sails were of skins and they had, strange to say, chain-cables; their keels were flatter than those of the Roman vessels, to enable them to take the ground more easily at low water, and they were raised to a great height both at stem and stern; their timbers were all of oak, and of such stout scantling, and so strongly put together, that the beaks of the Roman galleys could make no impression upon them. They were evidently huge vessels, built almost solely with a view to strength, and therefore their slow rate of sailing need not surprise us. But even the Roman "long ships" were ten hours in crossing; and as the flood and the ebb may have nearly counter-balanced each other, I do not think that the tide-drift will altogether account for such slow progress. On certain occasions Roman ships are known to have sailed seven miles an hour; but in such cases, whenever reference is made to the wind, we always find it was right astern. What was the rate of sailing when the wind was nearly abeam I do not know, but I suspect it was extremely slow. Cæsar's

† Adeo monthibus angustis mare continetur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset (B. G., IV. xxiii.).

vessels were probably ill built; they were put together in a hurry (*celeriter*, B. G., III. ix.), and by imperfectly-skilled workmen; for though Cæsar sent for sailors, rowers and pilots from "the Province," he says nothing about shipwrights, and there can be no doubt that the ships were constructed by the artisans of the legions, to whom he entrusted their repairation when they were damaged by the storm (B. G., IV. xxxi.). When we remember, also, that these "long ships" formed part of a fleet, and would naturally have their speed in some measure accommodated to that of the other vessels; that the sailors and pilots were from the Mediterranean, and strangers to the perplexing currents and the short jerking waves of the new sea, I think our surprise will be the less, when we find their rate of sailing *through the water* was barely two miles an hour. The difficulties we have been considering will be diminished only in a trifling degree by supposing that Cæsar sailed from Boulogne.

Cæsar reached Britain at 10 o'clock in the morning, but, "judging the place by no means a suitable one for landing, he waited at anchor to the ninth hour (3 o'clock in the afternoon), till the rest of the vessels were assembled there. In the mean time, having called together the Legati and the military tribunes, he told them what he had learnt from Volusenus, and what he wished to have done, &c. When these were dismissed, having got at the same time *both wind and tide* in his favour, he gave the signal, and weighing anchor advanced some seven or eight miles (the MSS. differ as to the distance) from that place, and brought the ships to on a level and open shore."‡ The question is, did he advance eastward or westward?

Halley, arguing from the present state of the tidal currents concluded, that on the day when Cæsar reached Britain, it was low water off that place about 2 (he should have said half past 1) in the afternoon; that at 3 the flood-tide was well made up, and that Cæsar proceeded with it eastward towards Deal; and he speaks with singular confidence as to the correctness of these results. He seems to have thought that, after slack water the flood-tide ran for five or six hours to high water, and then after a pause the ebb-tide ran for five or six hours to low water, and so on. This is not the law which prevails in narrow channels like those of rivers, or in narrow seas like that which separates Britain from the Continent. In such cases the flood-tide begins to flow two or three hours before high water, and continues to flow two or three hours after it, then after a pause the ebb-tide flows two or three hours to low water and two or three hours after it, and so on. This general law, however, is subject to many exceptions; a headland may divert the current, or an estuary produce in it the most extraordinary disturbances, so that no man, however great his analytical skill may be, can calculate from mere theory what will be the state of the tide at a given time, at any particular place in the English Channel: it can only be learnt from observation. Prof. Airy, to whom we owe the ablest work on the tides that has yet appeared, § at once saw the weak point in Halley's argument. With that eminently practical turn of mind which distinguishes him, he consulted Captain, now Admiral, Beechey, who had been employed in investigating these currents, and satisfied himself that the ebb-tide was still flowing at 3 o'clock, and, accordingly, he carried Cæsar's fleet with it to the westward. Mr. Lewin, who brings Cæsar from Boulogne to Folkestone, following Prof. Airy's example, carries him westward and lands him at Hythe. Dr. Cardwell, who appears to have paid much attention to the tides off Folkestone, distinguished between the in-shore and mid-channel currents, and thought he had good grounds for maintaining that near shore the flood tide would make as early as three o'clock, and might very well have carried Cæsar eastwards.

‡ Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad heram nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognovisset, et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit: monuitque, &c. His dimissis, et ventum et æstium uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et subatis anchoris, circiter milia passuum vii. ab eo loco progressus, aperio ac plano littore naves constituit. (B. G., IV. xxiii.).

§ Of course I refer to the admirable essay which appeared in the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana.'

towards Deal. I may say in passing that my own observations at Folkestone strongly corroborate those of Dr. Cardwell, but unfortunately I cannot avail myself of them, as, according to my theory, Cæsar's fleet was moored at Dover-wick. Capt. Beechey's observations, confirmed as they have been by those more recently made by order of the Admiralty, show clearly enough that, if we admit the premises, the tide off Dover at three o'clock in the afternoon of the day in which Cæsar reached Britain must have been flowing to the westward. As I believe Cæsar's fleet sailed in the opposite direction, I can only extricate myself from the dilemma by attacking the premises on which the conclusion is founded.

It is a curious circumstance that French and English antiquaries put different constructions on Cæsar's language. Our countrymen seem to consider the words *in anchoris* to form, as it were, a substantive part of the verb *expectavit*, as if the sentence might be rendered, "to the ninth hour he lay at anchor waiting for the assembling of the other ships." The Frenchman appears to consider them as parenthetical, and would, I presume, construe "to the ninth hour he waited (at anchor) for the assembling," &c. This construction admits of there being a certain interval between the assembling of the ships and the time of Cæsar's departure; and as the military tribunes were legionary officers, it is not very easy to see how Cæsar could give them his orders till all the ships carrying the legionary soldiers had come in. M. de Sauley assumes ('Campagnes de J. C.' p. 193) that an hour and a half were spent in making the necessary preparations for departure, and he starts Cæsar at half-past four, when he supposes that the flood-tide was making towards Deal. Of course, if we admit there was an interval, it can be accommodated to any hypothesis, and all the reasoning of our English antiquaries, from the time of Halley, downwards, falls at once to the ground.

But my objection is of a different kind. I shall venture to ask whether we are justified in reasoning from present phenomena to the state of the tides in the time of Cæsar?—whether the conditions of the problem are the same now as they were 2,000 years ago?—whether, in short, the alterations in the coast-line of Kent have been so insignificant that they may be safely neglected in the calculation? In discussing the question I shall put out of view the waste of the cliffs and the more substantial parts of the coast—first, because I believe this waste has been overrated, and, secondly, because in all probability it has been, on the whole, pretty equally distributed, so that the general outline of the coast may not be greatly altered, though it may be now more inland than formerly. What I want more particularly to call the reader's attention to are the changes which have been wrought in the marshes, the sands, and the shingle-beds of the Kentish coast.

We will begin with the Romney Marshes. No one now doubts that the portion of the Marshes called Old Romney Marsh was "inland" by the Romans; and as it is protected from the sea by the spit of shingle which runs from Hythe to New Romney, we may conclude that thus far the present coast coincided with that which existed in the time of Cæsar. According to Mr. Elliott, the very intelligent engineer of the Marshes, the Rother formerly emptied itself at New Romney, and there, accordingly, must have been the inlet by which the tide originally entered. By a cautious and well-reasoned induction, Mr. Elliott arrives at the following conclusions: that an inland spit of shingle called "Lydd Rypes" was the ancient beach south of this inlet, in the time of Cæsar, the remainder of Dungeness being a later accretion from the sea, —that this spit was prolonged across the bight formed by the Rother when it scooped out its present channel in the thirteenth century,—and that Old Winchelsea stood on this prolongation of the spit, many circumstances conspiring to fix the site of the lost town in this position. What then must have been the course of the tide-wave in these days of old? It must have come up the Channel uninterruptedly along a coast of gentle curvature, and at New Romney must have been swallowed by an estuary spreading over some 50,000

acres. From this estuary it is now excluded, and instead of the uninterrupted flow I have described, it is dashed against the shingle-beds of Dungeness. Diverted from its course, it runs round the Ness with a current like a mill-race, and forms on the other side, in Romney Hoy, a strong eddy, so that when a vessel is wrecked (as too often happens) on the west side of the Ness it throws up its timbers and the bodies of the poor fellows who went down in it in this Romney Hoy. Can we readily imagine a greater derangement of the tidal currents?

Let us now pass north of Dover to the Goodwin Sands. All the antiquaries who have lately discussed the present question assume that these sands existed in the time of Cæsar. Is this probable? Somner, the antiquary of Kent, informs us that, "with several men of judgment, it (i. e., the Goodwin) is looked on as a piece of later emergency than Earl Goodwyn" ('Roman Ports,' p. 24); while Sir Thomas More's story of the Tenterden steeple shows us that, in his opinion, the sands were of recent origin; and his testimony is valuable, for though not a Kentish man, he was brought up in the household of Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1500; and we may infer that such at that period was the opinion of educated men who had local knowledge, and, therefore, the best means of information. John Twine, of Canterbury, that "learned old man," as Camden calls him, describes, on the authority of "certain writers," an island named Lomea, the history of which he connects with that of the Goodwin Sands. According to him, it was exceedingly fertile and abounding in pastures, and was once the property of Earl Godwin. It lay somewhat lower than Thanet, from which it was three or four miles distant, and it was swept away during a terrific storm and an unusually high tide ('De Rebus Albionici,' Lib. I.). As Lomea is not mentioned in Domesday, it was probably destroyed before that compilation was made. The conclusion these considerations point to is confirmed by the names given to the celebrated anchoring grounds off Deal and Sandown Castle—viz., the Downs and the Small Downs. The word *downs* signifies sand-hills, and in this sense is well known on both sides of the Channel. Immediately north of Sandown Castle is a track of land covered with low sand-hills, and which in the older maps of Kent—Philipot's, for example—is called the "smale downes." The sea has long been eating away this track of sand-hills, and even within my memory the changes wrought have been most extraordinary. The sea has lately reached the fort, which has been dismantled and sold, and in a few months every vestige of Sandown Castle will have disappeared. I can only account for the name given to the anchorage by supposing that it once formed part of these "smale downes"; and for a similar reason I infer that the Downs were also at one time dry land covered with sand-hills. As the land was, probably, from the first nothing but a mud-bank covered with sand, a deep channel might easily be scooped out of it. In the Romney Marshes the sea-gilt has been found on boring to be fully ninety feet deep.

I think we may reasonably infer that the Sandwich Flats once projected into the sea as a low ness or foreland—probably divided into islands, of which Lomea was the easternmost. After the destruction of this island, the Goodwin Sands may have been gradually accumulated, not necessarily on the site of the island, but near it, and the Downs just as gradually excavated. If I have been correctly informed, the Goodwins are still slowly growing to the southward, and the Small Downs are certainly, and by no means slowly, enlarging their boundaries. How altered has been the working of the tides in this neighbourhood appears from the fact that the beach now thrown up at Deal and Sandown is shingle, whereas we have very clear proof that it once was sand.

Now, I will say nothing of the silting up of the Wantum, through which we know that ships sailed into the Thames as late as the fifteenth century, nor of the contracted dimensions of the Thames estuary, owing to the "inching" of its marshes; but looking solely to the alterations in the coast-line north and south of Dover, I would ask whether

it is likely that the tides continue to flow off that place to the hour precisely as they did before these changes had taken place? For my part, I cannot believe it.

If we hesitate to yield our assent to conclusions drawn from the state of the tides, we are necessarily thrown back upon the statements made by the classical writers. Cæsar tells us he "advanced" (*progressus*),† and from the language he usually employs we may presume it was to the north-eastward; for he calls the western parts of Britain "the lower part of the island" (B. G., IV. xxviii.), and it is generally admitted that the "upper" or "further port" was to the north of the Portus Icius. According to a passage in Dion ('Hist. Rom.,' XXXIX. li.), which Halley relied on, Cæsar went round a certain headland, and landed on the other side. The rounding of the South Foreland is the chief incident of the voyage from Dover-wick to Deal; and this promontory was the only one on the coast, for Dungeness was not then in existence. He brought his ships to a coast, level and open (B. G., IV. xxiii.) and soft (B. G., V. ix.). All these conditions are fulfilled if we suppose Cæsar to have landed on some of the marshy lands off Deal. If we land him at Hythe, though the shore be level, it can hardly be called open, for there is a range of heights at no great distance, and the word *soft* seems strangely out of place when applied to a bed of shingle. It has been said that the shingle was soft "in a sailor's sense," as it would "give" when a vessel was beached upon it. But I know of no authority for assigning to it this meaning, and it surely indicates a soft, oozy and muddy shore. Can we suppose that Cæsar would land close to Hythe harbour (the Portus Lemannis) without once alluding to it, or upon a bed of shingle, where his only means of obtaining water for 8,000 or 10,000 men would be from his ships?

As regards the length of the passage from the Continent to Britain, we get the thirty miles at which Cæsar rates it (B. G., V. ii.) by adding seven miles to the distance from Wissant to Dover. He reckoned, no doubt, as D'Anville pointed out, from the port of departure to the place of landing.

On his second transit, Cæsar carried over from thirty to forty thousand men, and sailed about sunset with a gentle south-west wind (B. G., V. viii.). He had with him 800 ships, most of them small, flat-bottomed vessels, constructed specially with the view of landing the soldiers in shallow waters, and of being afterwards drawn up on land; the time was, probably, the latter end of July, and we may conjecture that he steered for Dover. At midnight the wind fell, and the fleet drifted with the tide, so that at daybreak they found they had left Britain on their left hand. The tide then turning in their favour, they betook themselves to their oars, and about noon reached their former landing-place. D'Anville supposes they drifted into the Thames, and that six or seven hours' rowing, with the tide in their favour, would carry them beyond Deal, and he therefore lands them at Hythe. But the drift could not possibly carry them where D'Anville supposes. The flood-tide runs to the north-east; and if we draw a line of eight or ten miles towards Dover, to represent the space sailed over, and then one of fourteen or fifteen miles to the north-east, to represent the drift, we shall have the position of Cæsar's fleet at daybreak. They would, at that time, have the Dover cliffs on their larboard bow, and would be about as far distant from them as when they first started. The ebb-tide would, perhaps, about counterbalance the error produced by the flood, but, on the lowest computation, they would have to make some twenty miles through the water before they reached their former landing-place. When we remember the kind of vessels they were rowing, the soldiers fairly earned the compliment they received for their exertions (B. G., V. viii.).

The Britons, affrighted at the vast number of vessels, deserted the shore and took refuge in the hills (*loca superiora*, B. G., V. viii.), and the same night Cæsar marched against them to the banks of

† Mr. Lewin was the first to point out the argument that might be raised on the use of this word by Cæsar, and it was much to the credit of his candour, as it made strongly against the theory he had adopted.



a certain river about twelve miles off. The Britons opposed the passage of the river with horsemen and chariots drawn up on the hill side, but they were repulsed, and retired to a wood where was a fortified post—no doubt a British *oppidum*, such as Caesar has elsewhere described, and, probably, the stronghold of one of the four petty kings who, at that time, bore rule in Kent. The stronghold was attacked, and, after some little trouble, taken by Caesar.

I believe this stronghold was the capital of the district of which Canterbury is now the centre; but our antiquaries make a great mistake when they suppose this city to occupy its site. Canterbury represents the Roman *castellum*, and the Romans generally built their *castellum* two or three miles from the British *oppidum*. If we pass two or three miles down the Stour, we shall find a locality which answers all the demands of Caesar's narrative. North of the river is a range of low hills, on which still lie large masses of natural wood. The river runs at the foot of the hills, and to the south of it is a flat country which stretches away towards Sandwich and Deal. The latter place is about twelve miles distant.

Those who maintain that Caesar landed at Hythe suppose that the night march carried him to Wye. But at Wye the Stour is a mere brook, and there is nothing to justify us in supposing that there was ever a British fortress in the neighbourhood. It has, indeed been assumed that this was the highway to Canterbury, and that a fortress was erected to bar the pass, which has been termed "the British Thermopylæ." But if Caesar wanted to reach Canterbury, why did he not at once march over the downs in the direction in which the Roman Road was afterwards carried? The distance from Hythe to Canterbury was little greater than that to Wye, and the road to the one was as easy as to the other.

While on this subject of topography, it may be well to notice an objection that has been brought against Deal as the place of Caesar's landing. The neighbourhood of Caesar's landing-place, it has been said, was a mixture of woodland and arable; the uplands round Deal are a chalk district, unsuited for corn-crops and perfectly open. It might be answered that these uplands are at the present moment white with corn; and if it be said this is the result of modern farming, I might reply that a system of long fallows might be a substitute for sheep-husbandry. It is a mistake to suppose that the shallow soils were not formerly cultivated; I have seen undoubted marks of ancient cultivation in localities where a modern farmer would long hesitate before he risked his capital. The disappearance of the woodlands is what might have been expected. Where are now many of our great historical forests,—Arden and Braden, for example? They have been long swept from the face of the country. On the Downs further south, where the sward barely covers the chalk, and the profits of the woodland equal those of the arable, we find the woodlands preserved; and the same character of country, no doubt, once extended to Deal—a wide, undulating plain dotted over with beech-woods.

Camden quotes Nennius as stating that Caesar fought at Dole, and he supposes the name to be the Welsh word Dol, which is generally said to mean a plain beside a river. This word, no doubt, gave a name to the town of Dol in Brittany, which, like our Deal, is situated on the borders of an alluvial plain. It may have been the British name for the Sandwich Flats, and gradually appropriated to designate the seaport which arose on their confines. When D'Anville affects to place the testimony of Nennius on the same level with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, he shows a want of critical discrimination. But the passage Camden refers to is certainly surrounded with difficulties, arising from the variations in the MSS. It was, no doubt, a subject of blunder and mistake as early as the tenth century, and the attempts made by copyists to explain the mistakes, have increased the confusion. By extracting an obvious interpolation, the following extract, which is taken from the Vatican copy, will, I think, give the text on the whole much as it was read by Camden:—"Tunc iulius cesar cum accep-

isset totius orbis singulare imperium et primus obtineret, valde iratus ad brytanniam cum lx ceolis pervenit in ostio fluminis tamensis, in quo naufragium naves illius perpesse sunt dum ille pugnaret apud dolo bellum . . . et iulius reversus est sine victoria cæsis militibus fractisque navibus."

The use of the phrase "*apud dolo*" strengthens my belief in the genuineness and the antiquity of this fragment, which was probably taken, at least portions of it, from some very ancient chronicle. *Dolo* is, no doubt, one of those monoptotes or undeclined nouns which occur so frequently in the Itineraries, and appear to have gone not long afterwards out of fashion. When the Wantsum was open, the country round Deal and Sandwich might very well be described as lying at the mouth of the Thames; and I think we may point to this fragment as bearing something like historical evidence in our favour, when we venture to fix upon Deal as the place where Caesar landed.

It is a source of no small comfort to me, differing as I do in these speculations from many whom I respect, to find that, both as regards the port of departure and the place of landing, I am in so close an agreement with a man like Camden.

EDWIN GUEST.

#### ASSYRIAN HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

I, Hill Street, Berkeley Square, Aug. 12, 1863.

A morning spent in exploring, with the aid of glass and brush, the many thousand fragments of begrimmed and crumbling clay tablets from Nineveh, which still load the shelves and presses of the British Museum, rarely fails to disinter some new facts of interest in relation to Assyrian history and chronology. I have passed several mornings during the late spring in company with Mr. Coxe, Assistant in the Department of Antiquities, occupied with this laborious but not ungrateful task; and as the yield has been more than usually prolific, I now venture to embody the chief results in a letter, which may serve to keep the public *au courant* as to the progress of discovery. The first tablet I shall notice is a fragment bearing about eighty lines of Assyrian writing, but broken at both ends and otherwise much mutilated. This tablet when complete must have contained a brief, but continuous, sketch of the synchronous history of Babylon and Assyria from the very earliest times; the events, however, not being recorded chronologically,—for there was probably no recognized era to date from,—but being merely arranged according to the succession of the respective monarchs of the two countries. The earliest reigns are lost. Where the tablet commences to be legible, we find an account of the treaties of peace concluded by two successive kings of Assyria, with their Babylonian contemporaries; and, thirdly, a very interesting record of a domestic revolution in Babylon, in which the monarch was slain by his rebellious subjects; his death being subsequently avenged by his maternal grandfather, the king of Assyria, who seems to have killed the usurper and restored the throne to the legitimate claimant. The Babylonian kings, who are severally named, are *Kara-issib-das* (?), *Burna-buriyas*, *Kara-khar-das*, and *Nazi-bugas*, their Assyrian contemporaries being *Asshur-bilu-nisissu*, *Buzur-Asshur*, and *Asshur-vatila*; and the period of history, to which the record refers is in all probability anterior to B.C. 1500. One of the names, at any rate, which occurs on this fragment, *Burna-buriyas*, is already well known from other sources, as belonging to one of the most celebrated of the early Turanian monarchs of Babylon, (1) and the whole group is of course connected in an immediate series. The most important result, however, which we derive from this glimpse of old-world history, is the proof it affords of the existence of an inde-

(1) For legend of *Burna-buriyas*, see Rawlinson's 'Cuneiform Inscriptions,' Pl. 4, No. XIII.; and consult also the notice of this king given in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' edition of 1853, Vol. I. p. 439. On the synchronous tablet the name of the king to whom *Asshur-vatila* restored the throne of Babylon is lost; but he appears to have been a son of *Burna-buriyas*, who may be conjectured, therefore, to be the *Kur-galazu*, whose signet-ring was obtained at Baghdad, and who is otherwise well known. See Rawlinson's 'Herod.' loc. cit. The former reading of *Durri-galazu* is corrected to *Kur-galazu*, on the authority of the bilingual catalogue of royal Babylonian names. The king in question was perhaps a younger brother of *Kara-khar-das*.

pendent Assyrian kingdom while the Turanian monarchs still reigned to the South. Formerly, we were content to believe that one empire only could have existed in the Mesopotamian valley, the seat of sovereignty fluctuating between North and South, according as Semitic or Turanian races were in the ascendant; but we now find that there were in reality two co-existing empires in Assyria and Babylonia from a very early period: the capital of one empire being at Asshur (*Kileh Shirgât*), and of the other at Hür (*Mugheir*),—for neither Nineveh nor Babylon had then risen to metropolitan consequence; and we are thus reminded that the chronology of Ctesias, and the chronology of Berosus, which have been hitherto considered absolutely incompatible, may possibly be reconciled, as applying to two different countries. (2)

Another question of equal interest, but of more difficult solution, is that which concerns the ethnic relationship of these early Babylonian monarchs. Whether the primitive population of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates may have been of the Hamite or Semitic family, or of both these races combined, we have no means of determining with any certainty from the Inscriptions. That which can be established without much chance of error is, that at some period anterior to B.C. 2000 (probably about B.C. 2500) the primitive population of Babylonia was to a certain extent displaced by Turanian tribes from the mountains: these immigrant tribes bringing with them the use of letters, and being otherwise far more civilized than the people whom they superseded. To the Greeks, who were indebted for their acquaintance with such very remote times to imperfect and disfigured local tradition, the new colonists were known as Zoroastrian Medes, who contended with Ninus (the Eponym of the Semitic race) and introduced the arts of Magic (i. e. of writing) into Western Asia. In reality, all the mountaineers, whether represented by the *Numa*, who invaded Susiana, or by the *Sumir* and *Akkad*, who occupied Babylonia, or by the *Zimri*, who impended over Assyria, belonged, as it would seem, to the great *Tchad* family, remnants of which are still extensively spread in the East and North of Europe; but although members of one family, these tribes seem to have had a very dissimilar vocabulary: and it was owing probably to the multiplicity of synonyms which were thus introduced into the country that the cuneiform signs which were originally pictures of natural objects, came to possess so many different phonetic values. To what particular tribe the kings may have belonged whose names appear in the historical fragment above cited is nowhere stated in the Inscriptions. That they were foreigners, or, at any rate, that they did not spring from the original

(2) Nothing certain has been yet found in the Inscriptions, or is likely to be found, with regard to the historical commencement of a Semitic dynasty in Assyria. Sargon speaks, it is true, in one passage of 350 generations of kings who had preceded him, and there are frequent allusions in the Annals of other monarchs to their descent from the gods; but, apart from mythical fancies, the actual historical statements with regard to the antiquity of the empire are few and vague. When *Tammi-Yama*, son of *Imbi-Dagon*, founded the old temple at Asshur (*Kileh Shirgât*), anterior to B.C. 1800, Assyria must have been subject, it would seem, to the Semitic dynasty which reigned (perhaps for a short period only) in Southern Babylonia. This *Tammi-Yama* I strongly suspect, notwithstanding the difficulty with regard to his father's name, to be the same High-Priest of Asshur whose legend is given in Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.,' Pl. 6, No. 1, and I would further suggest that the Greeks had preserved a tradition of his name and character in *Zémeu*, the son of Ninus and grandson of Belus. I still think that the origin of an independent empire is alluded to in the famous genealogical tablet (Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.,' Pl. 35, No. III.), where a series of four kings is given, commencing with *Bilu-sumit-kapi* ("Belus of the left hand"), "the ancient king," it is said, "who established the sovereignty of our line, of which from that time Asshur has proclaimed the glory," and I should conjecture this group to date from the eighteenth century B.C.

(3) The names of these tribes usually refer to their "mountain" origin. "*Nunma*" as repeatedly stated in the vocabularies, thus means "a highlander" (compare *Wogul*, *Nunma*, "heaven"—*Nunam*, "high" &c.); and the names applied to Susiana in the other Inscriptions, *Elam* in Assyrian, *Aper* in Median, and *Uvay* in Persian, are mere translations of the original name. *Akkad* also is rendered in Assyrian by *Tilla*, from *til*, "to be high," and by *Urhu* in Arrian; compare *Zend* *Eredava*, "high," and the *Ortha-corymbes* of Herodotus. The primitive title of *Bur-bur* had probably the same meaning, and the synonym of *Huri*, which is also given, is the Hebrew *הורי*.

Akkadian colonists, may be inferred from another tablet, on which a long list of their names is given with Akkadian equivalents. The remarkable circumstance that so many of the names end in *s*,—and many of the Elyman names exhibit the same peculiarity, such as *Khalludus*, *Khumba-nagas*, *Amman-aldas*, &c.,—might be held to suggest an Arian origin; but the etymological evidence is not in favour of such a theory. That evidence distinctly points to a Turanian source, and we must suppose, therefore, that they were mountaineers of a later immigration. In point of time they correspond with the third historical dynasty of Berossus, to which he assigns the name of Chaldean; and although the Chaldeans of history were, no doubt, Semitic, it is still quite possible that these Proto-Chaldeans may have been really a Turanian race from the mountains, cognate with the wild tribes of the same name whom the Ten Thousand met with to the North, and who retained their seats till long afterwards amid the fastnesses of Armenia.

The next discovery which I have to communicate is curious and of some chronological importance. The earliest Assyrian kings with whom we have been hitherto acquainted, form a group of four monarchs succeeding each other in direct descent and reigning at the old capital of "Asshur" (*Kileh Shirgât*). Their names are doubtfully given in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus' as *Bel-lush*, *Pudil*, *Iva-lush* and *Shalma-bar*, and they are conjecturally assigned to the 13th century B.C. (see Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' Vol. I., pp. 456 and 467). We are now able to add another name to the series, and to place the whole group one century higher in the chronological scale; and this rectification has been brought about by the discovery of an incidental notice very similar to the passage in the Babylonian Inscription, which originally enabled us to fix the date of the first Tiglath-Pileser. I have recently, indeed, lighted on a small clay tablet at the British Museum which bears an inscription to the following effect:—

"*Tiglath-Ussur*, (4) king of Assyria, son of *Shalman-Ussur*, (5) king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Dunis* (Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may *Ashur* and *Yama* destroy his name and country."

"A signet-seal with this legend having been carried off as a trophy in war from Assyria to Babylonia, I Sennacherib, king of Assyria, after 600 years, took the city of Babylon, and from among the spoils of Babylon recovered it."

The reverse of the tablet contains a repetition of the legend of *Tiglath-Ussur* with the gloss, "This is what was written on the signet-seal." Now it is almost certain that the *Shalman-Ussur*, here spoken of as the father of *Tiglath-Ussur*, is the same king as the last of the above-mentioned group of four, (6) whose name was doubtfully read

(4) This is the same name which is given in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus' (Vol. I. Essay VII. *passim*) as *Tiglati-Nin*. The discovery of the vernacular name of the Assyrian Heracles, which forms the second element of this royal name, has long been a desideratum. Various readings have been proposed—such as *Nin* or *Ninip*, *Bar*, *Sandan*, &c.,—but none of them are satisfactory. I long ago stated that the sign answering to the syllable *Bar*, by which the god was generally known, signified "a binder," and was thus equivalent to *Zindu* (from זָנַד), whence the Greek Σάδωγ or Σάδα (see 'Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 627; and I have since found that another and more usual correspondent in the same sense is *Ussur* (from זָנַד); so that I now venture to suggest that reading as the phonetic title of the god, comparing the name, perhaps, with the "Osiris" of the Greeks; but at the same time I admit that the identification requires to be verified by some historical example before it can be received with much confidence.

(5) The rectification of the reading of this name is another result of the discovery that the signs, whose usual phonetic values are *bar* and *ris*, (for the equivalence of which compare the variant orthographies of this same name given in Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' pl. 29, lines 39 and 51), represent the Semitic participle *ussur*. The name was borne by at least three different monarchs of Assyria, and is the same as the *Shalmaneser*, שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר, of the Bible; but its signification is still subject to doubt. It may mean simply "Shalman the victorious," though no such deity as *Shalman* has been yet met with in any of the Pantheon lists; or we may translate, "who is victorious (like) Shala?" taking the middle element for the interrogative particle, which is written indifferently as *manu*, *man*, and *ma*, and identifying the deity in question with *Shala*, the wife of *Yama*. See 'Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 603.

(6) Observe, however, that the same affiliation of *Tiglath-*

as *Shalma-bar* (and who is otherwise known as the founder of the city of Calah or *Nimrud*); and if this identification be correct, it will thus follow that his date will be about 1320 B.C., for Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon is fixed from other sources to B.C. 703-2. The employment of a round number like 600 in Sennacherib's memorandum shows that minute accuracy was not aimed at, but still we cannot go far wrong in assigning the five kings, of whom *Tiglath-Ussur* was the last, to the general limits of the 14th century B.C.

In the synchronous tablet above referred to, the portion is lost which should have contained a notice of *Shalman-Ussur*'s conquest of Babylon, and of the retaliatory raid upon Assyria executed in the following reign. Where the record is again continued, we find an account of the wars of the three Assyrian kings, *Ashur-ris-elim*, (7) his son *Tiglath-Pileser I.*, and his grandson *Ashur-bilu-kala*, with their Babylonian contemporaries, *Nabu-kudur-uzur I.*, *Merodach-iddin-akhi*, and *Merodach-shapik-ziri*. We have here arrived at a comparatively well-known period of history, extending from about B.C. 1140 to B.C. 1080; but are still indebted to the fragment in question for the recovery of two new Babylonian royal names, and also for the rectification of the name of the son of *Tiglath-Pileser I.*, which, on the supposed authority of the Inscription on the mutilated female statue now in the Museum, I had formerly given as *Ashur-bani-pal*. (8) The great value, however, of the notice to which I have just referred, is that it establishes beyond all dispute an historical point which M. Oppert has hitherto insisted on rejecting, namely, the identity of the *Tiglath-Pileser* of the Babylonian Inscription, who was the antagonist of *Merodach-iddin-akhi*, and whose era is fixed to about B.C. 1120, with the *Tiglath-Pileser*, son of *Ashur-ris-elim*, whose annals have been translated and published, and whose memorial tablet at the source of the left branch of the Tigris, discovered last year by Mr. John Taylor, I had not long ago the pleasure of describing in the pages of the *Athenæum*. (9)

The two fragments of Assyrian history which I have thus noticed belong to the obverse of the synchronous tablet. On the reverse, where the third column becomes legible, we find the record

*Ussur*, son of *Shalman-Ussur*, occurs in the series already quoted from Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' pl. 35, No. III., lines 19 and 21; and that it is, therefore, just possible that the kings mentioned on the signet-seal, and dating from about B.C. 1300, may belong to the opening period of the Assyrian dynasty; though in that case it will be necessary to lower the date of the Babylonian *Burna-buriyas* by at least two centuries; and the short interval to which we shall be then limited between the commencement of the monarchy and the era of *Tiglath-Pileser I.* in about B.C. 1120, will hardly afford room for the sixteen kings, anterior to the last-mentioned, with whose names we are already acquainted.

(7) The epithet *Ris-elim* means "high-headed," and answers to "*sir-baldan*," which is a common name in Persia to the present day. It is the exact Semitic correspondent of *Sag-gathu*, which was the Turanian name of the great Temple of Merodach at Babylon. I suggested a similar explanation long ago for the latter part of the Scriptural name of *Chushan-Rish-athaim*, king of Mesopotamia ('Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 572, note 1); and subsequent discovery has half inclined me to believe in the actual identity, not only of these names of *Chushan-Rish-athaim* and *Ashur-ris-elim*, but also of the kings who bore them. At any rate, the present Hebrew reading is most suspicious, for there is no such deity known as *Chushan*, nor is there any satisfactory Semitic explanation for שָׁרָף; while, on the other hand, a very slight correction of the Hebrew letters would bring the two orthographies into union. With respect, again, to character, *Ashur-ris-elim* is now shown to have pursued the same career of foreign conquest as his son; and nothing is more natural than that the conquest of Judea by the one should have prepared the way for the reduction of Northern Syria by the other; while under the earlier Assyrian kings, when the power of Babylonia was dominant, such distant expeditions would seem in the highest degree improbable. At the same time, the discrepancy, according to the received chronology, of 400 years between the dates of *Chushan-Rish-athaim* and *Ashur-ris-elim*, is too great to admit of the two kings being identified without more direct evidence.

(8) See Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' pl. 6, No. vi. This king is also mentioned in the fragment of an inscription from *Kileh Shirgât*, given in Layard's 'Cuneiform Inscriptions,' pl. 73, line 7; but the group of characters in that passage had not been previously recognized as a royal Assyrian name.

(9) M. Oppert's error was first promulgated in his 'Rapport à S. E. Mons. le Ministre de l'Instruction,' p. 43, and is, I believe, maintained by him to the present day. It was combated in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 459, but could not be disproved till the synchronous tablet related the war of *Tiglath-Pileser I.*, son of *Ashur-ris-elim*, with *Merodach-iddin-akhi* of Babylonia.

has descended to the time of the builder of the North-west Palace at Nineveh, whose name we have hitherto been accustomed to read as *Ashur-dani-pal*, and whom we have supposed to represent the warlike Sardanapalus of the Greeks. In the Babylonian wars of this king and of his son, *Shalmaneser II.* (the Black Obelisk King), there is little with which we are not already acquainted from other sources. The only novelty, indeed, is the name of *Nabu-sum-iskun*, (10) which seems to have been borne by the predecessor of *Nabu-bal-iddin*, on the throne of Babylon, the latter monarch being the same whose defeat by the forces of Assyria is recorded on the Nimrud monolith. (Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' pl. 23, col. 3, l. 19.) In reference, however, to the name of this famous Assyrian monarch who built the North-west Palace at Calah, or *Nimrud*, and whose annals for the first six years of his reign have been published by me in the Museum collection of 'Inscriptions,' it is important to observe that the reading which we have hitherto followed of *Ashur-dani-pal*, or "*Sardanapalus*," must be definitively abandoned. The true reading, as established by a variant orthography in one of the copies of the Assyrian Canon, is *Ashur-izir-pal*; (11) and with this rectification there also, of course, falls to the ground the king's possible identity with the Sardanapalus of the Greeks. It would now appear almost certain that the true and only representative of the famous voluptuary and warrior of Grecian story must be *Ashur-bani-pal*, the son of *Esar-Haddon*, and penultimate king of Nineveh, whose conquests, moreover, extending from Egypt, on the one side, along the coasts of the Mediterranean, by Tyre, Aradus and Cilicia, to the interior of Asia Minor on the other, where he reduced the *Gimirri* or *Cimmerians*, and exacted tribute from Gyges, king of Lydia, will sufficiently explain his celebrity among the neighbouring Ionians, who were then first rising into power. (12)

A good deal of additional information with regard to the reigns of *Ashur-izir-pal* and his son, *Shalmaneser II.*, is afforded by the Inscriptions engraved on the memorial tablets from *Kurkh*, near *Diyarbekir*, which I described in my last letter to the *Athenæum*, and which have now reached the British Museum; but as I have not yet had time to bestow anything more than a cursory inspection on these curious monuments, I reserve my report on them for another occasion, and shall devote the remainder of my letter to the chronological questions involved in the Assyrian Canon which was the subject of so much discussion last year in the pages of the *Athenæum*, and upon which much further light has been thrown by continued research.

In the first place, then, I accept with readiness the title of *Eponyme*, which Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert have proposed to apply to the names of the officers in the Canon, as performing the same function in reference to the Assyrian year which the Archons performed at Athens. The *Eponyme*, indeed, is usually distinguished by a specific title in the dated tablets, and it is evident, therefore, that the function of naming the year was purely honorary; but, at the same time, I must vindicate the Canon from the charges of inaccuracy or incompleteness which have been brought against it, merely, as it would seem, because it disagrees with

(10) The same name was borne by a son of *Merodach-Baladan*, who headed a revolt of the Babylonians against Sennacherib (see Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' pl. 43, line 50).

(11) The middle element of this name usually represents the root *צר*, "to protect"; and that such is its function in this case, is proved by the insertion of the complementary syllable *ir* in the variant reading of the Canon. M. Oppert supposed the sign also to represent the root *תן*, "to give," and hence obtained *iddin*, or *dant*, for the second element of the name; but he had no sufficient authority for such an explanation.

(12) Unfortunately, the annals of *Ashur-bani-pal* are in such a fragmentary state, all the cylinders and clay tablets which contain them being more or less mutilated, that it will be impossible, I fear, ever to present them in a continuous narrative. The records of particular expeditions, however, such as those against Egypt, Moab, Aradus, and Asia Minor, besides the king's great wars in Susiana, Babylonia, and Armenia, can be restored so as to be generally intelligible. I have found notices, also, of the king's attack both on Tyre and on Cilicia, but have not yet discovered any allusion to the foundation by him of Tarsus and Ancharia, which, however, if *Ashur-bani-pal* be really the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, ought to be commemorated in the Annals.



established systems of chronology. The fact is that, instead of one solitary and suspicious compilation, as has been assumed, we have copies, or rather fragments of copies, of at least four separate lists, recorded at different periods and arranged according to different methods, but still not varying one from the other in regard to the position of a single Eponyme, and further corroborated by repeated references to independent historical documents. The intrinsic evidence, indeed, is so convincing, and the means of verification afforded by a comparison with other recorded dates are so ample and so satisfactory, that I do not hesitate to accept the Canon as a perfectly authentic and contemporaneous chronological table, extending over a period of about 270 years. At the same time, before confidence can be reposed in the calculations drawn from the Canon, we must be sure that we have a true representation of the text, and not a garbled and unfaithful version, such as has been lately contributed by M. Oppert to the 'Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne,' with the strange pretension of not only being copied from the original tablets, but also of being now published for the first time. (13) There is a certain difficulty, no doubt, in obtaining a satisfactory notion of the scheme of the Canon, owing, not so much to the mutilation of the fragments,—for the numbers of lines, each indicating a year, can be counted throughout,—as to the different systems pursued in the different copies with regard to marking the regnal divisions; but, when we are once assured, as we may be by the exact agreement of the compartments with the dates in Ptolemy's Canon, that No. I. is the normal type, the apparent discrepancies of Nos. II., III., and IV. can be all explained without involving the displacement of a single Eponyme, or the variation of a single year in the general chronological scale. (14)

(13) M. Oppert, in page 5 of his pamphlet, entitled 'Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides, et les Fastes de Ninive,' states, 'J'ai pu moi-même examiner les listes de Londres' and again, in page 15, he speaks of 'le Canon des Eponymes Assyriennes que nous publions ici pour la première fois,' yet with all this assumption of authority, I am bound to say that M. Oppert's list is entirely untrustworthy. Wrong names are in some places invented for the kings, as in the case of a so-called Tiglath-Pileser III. and Sardanapalus IV.; reigns even are curtailed—the Eponymes, for example, under Sardanapalus IV. being reduced from 11 to 8; an interruption is assumed between B.C. 788 and 741, when the lists are continuous and complete; and, finally, 12 names are introduced under Esar-Haddon which are entirely spurious. The cause of this last error is so curious and instructive, that I may venture briefly to explain it. It appears that M. Oppert, in the course of last autumn, obtained access at the British Museum, during my absence from town, to the chronological tablets which I was then manipulating, adding a piece here and there, as fresh fragments were discovered by Mr. Coxo or by myself. It so happened that at the time of M. Oppert's visit, a fragment, which nearly fitted, had been tentatively joined on by me to Canon No. I., awaiting further scrutiny, pending which, however, the names were not admitted into my list; but M. Oppert seems to have had no scruples. In his anxiety to appropriate the results, he at once accepted the restoration as genuine, and drew up his list accordingly, introducing 12 or 13 entirely spurious names into the Canon. The true piece, I may add, that was wanting in No. I. has been since discovered, and the spurious fragment (which belongs to a list, not of Eponymes, but of officers of the Assyrian Court) has been detached to make room for it. In conclusion, I must repeat, that M. Oppert's Canon in its present form is entirely worthless for chronological calculation.

(14) The different systems observed in the several copies of the Canon may be thus explained. In No. I. the line drawn across the column simply marks the regnal division. Where the king is Eponyme in his first year, as appears to have been invariably the case down to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II., the title is added to the name at the head of the list. In the later reigns, where the king merely takes his place among the Eponymes according to the date of his office, the royal title is not used. In one single instance, at the foot of the fifth column, there is a gloss introduced after the name of the first Eponyme of the reign, stating, "At this time Esar-Haddon ascended the throne."—In No. II. the royal title is always added to the king's name, and the lining is irregular,—that is, the division precedes the name of the king, whether the name is given, as in the case of Tiglath-Pileser in the regular list of yearly Eponymes, or whether, as in the case of Sennacherib, it is introduced merely as a sort of gloss to illustrate the commencement of the reign.—In No. III. the lining is still more irregular. A line is drawn both before and after the name of Shalmaneser II., whilst it is drawn after the name of the predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, but before the name of Tiglath-Pileser himself. It is further drawn at the commencement of Sargon's reign, and again before his name as Eponyme, whilst there is no line either before or after the name of Sennacherib as Eponyme, nor at the commencement of the reigns either of Tiglath-Pileser or Esar-Haddon. The royal title is also always added to the name of the king

Following, then, with implicit confidence the authority of Canon No. I., and leaving, for the present, any discussion of the earlier portion of the list—except in so far as to reiterate my assertion that there is no indication whatever in any of the four independent copies of the Canon of an interregnum, or suspension of Eponymes, between what has been called the Upper and Lower dynasty of Assyria, and that the accession of Hazael, therefore, to the throne of Assyria, in the middle of the reign of Shalmaneser II., must be lowered from Clinton's assumed date of B.C. 886 to about B.C. 844,—I at once admit an error of three years in my previous calculation of the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon and Sennacherib. I was led into this error, partly by a desire to identify the accession of Tiglath-Pileser to the throne of Assyria with the commencement of the era of Nabonassar at Babylon, in B.C. 747, and partly from misunderstanding the nature of the lines drawn across the columns in Canons II., III. and IV., which I supposed to be intended uniformly to indicate a regnal division. I am now inclined to dissociate altogether from Assyrian history the chronological reform at Babylon; and I take the following dates from Canon I., as the landmarks whereby to regulate the chronology of the last century of the Assyrian Empire:—

Accession of Tiglath-Pileser (Eponyme in his third year) ..	744
Accession of Sargon (Eponyme in his fourth year) ..	721
Accession of Sennacherib (Eponyme in his 19th year) ..	704
Accession of Esar-Haddon ..	680

Having established these outlines on the authority of Canon No. I., and almost in accordance with the scheme of M. Oppert, (15) I now proceed to fill in the details, and to adjust the Biblical synchronisms in a manner altogether different. The first point upon which I must insist is, that there was no real distinction between an Upper and Lower Empire of Assyria, nor any destruction of Nineveh at this period, nor, in fact, any violent interruption of the dynasty. Tiglath-Pileser did not, perhaps, ascend the throne as the eldest son of the king who preceded him, but he must certainly have belonged to the royal family, since he repeatedly speaks of "the kings his fathers," and calls the royal buildings of Calah "the palaces of his fathers"; and the succession, moreover, must have been, I think, bloodless and regular, for he entered at once on a career of foreign conquest, without the slightest indication of internal disorder. (16) The destruction of Nineveh, indeed, under Sardanapalus which is described by Ctesias, and which has been usually referred to this period of history, because the Median Chronology of that author raises the date of Arbaces to the middle of the 8th century B.C., must apply, as far as it is allowed any historical character whatever, to the final disruption of the Assyrian Empire under the grandson of Esar-Haddon, for then alone could the Medes and Babylonians have participated in an attack on the city. The revolution, too, which is noticed by Agathias, on the authority of Bion and Polyhistor, and which has also been supposed to mark the transition of the Empire from an Upper to a Lower dynasty, is manifestly fabulous, inter-

mingled as it is with the myth of Semiramis. (17) There is nothing, I must repeat, either in Scripture or in the Inscriptions, to indicate any interruption in the regular succession; and I consider Tiglath-Pileser, therefore,—pending further research, at any rate,—to have ascended the throne in due course as heir to the king who preceded him.

In the next place, with regard to the Biblical Pul, I am strongly inclined to apply the name either to a General of Tiglath-Pileser's or to Tiglath-Pileser himself, and for the following reasons:—Firstly, the name of the predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser on the throne of Assyria, however it may have been pronounced, bore most assuredly no resemblance whatever to that of Pul. Secondly, the exaction of tribute from Menahem, king of Israel, which is related of Pul in the Bible, belongs in the Scriptures to Tiglath-Pileser; and there is not the slightest ground for supposing that two consecutive kings of Assyria could have pushed their conquests to the distant land of Judea during the short reign of the son of Gadi. Thirdly, the same event—namely, the deportation of the Tribes beyond the Jordan—is attributed in Scripture (1 Chron. v. 26) to the two kings associated together, as if they were one and the same individual, or, at any rate, were acting together; and the passage in question is understood in this sense both by the Syrian and Arabic translators, the single name of Tiglath-Pileser being used in one version and of Pul in the other. But even if the separate name of Pul be thus eliminated from the royal Assyrian lists, our difficulties are not ended. There is much still to be done before we can fully reconcile the Hebrew accounts of this period of history with the contemporary cuneiform annals. Casual discrepancies in regard to dates need not surprise us, since the Scriptural numbers are not altogether consistent with each other; but it is certainly disappointing to find that, notwithstanding the extensive materials we possess for tracing the various expeditions of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon and Sennacherib, we are still unable to identify with any certainty the several captivities of Israel, or the other salient points of Hebræo-Assyrian history.

Much of this difficulty is due, no doubt, to the peculiar nature of the cuneiform documents that it is necessary to consult. The annals of Tiglath-Pileser, for instance, although reaching down to within a year of the end of his reign, are unfortunately in so disjointed and fragmentary a state, and were originally registered with so little regard to regularity, that it is impossible now to tabulate them with any certainty. On the clay tablet, recently discovered, which records the name of *Yahukhaz*, king of Judea, and which gives a summary of all Tiglath-Pileser's wars, the distribution is evidently not chronological, but geographical; the expeditions of the king being described, not in the order of their occurrence, but in the order of their position on the map, from the extreme east to the extreme west—that is, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean,—and even in the more diffuse narrative which was engraved on the walls of the Palace, and of which we have numerous portions in a more or less perfect state (18), it would seem that the various campaigns were described in groups, instead of being assigned each one to its particular year, as was usually the case. There are, in fact, but two solitary dates, the 2nd year and the 9th year, occurring in the entire series; and it thus becomes extremely difficult to determine the relative position in the King's reign of

(15) The fatal flaw in M. Oppert's scheme is his continued assignment of 42 years to the reign of the Biblical Tiglath-Pileser. Whether he relies solely for this so-called chronology "datum" on the Report of Dr. Hincks, or whether he also examined the tablet himself which is supposed to mention it, I have never been able to understand; but whatever be the authority, I can assert positively that no such record exists, and that the whole calculation is founded on a mistake.

(16) On a mutilated tablet, which seems to have been a sort of "Royal Gazette," notifying all the Government appointments, it is stated that Tiglath-Pileser ascended the throne on the 13th day of the 2nd month, and immediately afterwards went down to Mesopotamia ("the country between the rivers," in Assyrian), where, as we know from his annals, he waged a successful war against numerous petty chiefs, two of whom, *Nadina* and *Zakira*, may perhaps be the *Nadus* and *Chinzirus* of Ptolemy, and received tribute from Merodach-Baladan, who then ruled over the lower country on the sea-coast, residing in his father's city of *B-t-Yakin*.

(17) In the work of the Christian Arab, *Tekriti*, who wrote in the 3rd century of the Hejra, I find a fuller account of this period of history (taken, of course, originally from Ctesias) than is preserved either in Eusebius or Syn-cellus. Semiramis is there said to have been the wife of Belochus and mother of Balakores, and to have reigned conjointly with her son—an evident repetition of the old myth of Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninus. The chronology of this writer, from whatever source it may have been taken, is considerably in excess even of the numbers of the Septuagint, but the relative dates in regard to Assyrian history are those of Eusebius.

(18) In Layard's 'Inscriptions,' all the following plates belong to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser—17, 18, 50, 51, 52, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, and 72; and there are at least ten other fragments of the Annals, which have been since discovered, irrespective of the general summary on the large clay tablet from Nimrud; yet with all this extent of material it is exceedingly difficult to arrange a connected narrative of the events of the king's reign in chronological order.

each of his expeditions. I can distinguish, however, as I think, from the Inscriptions, at least three several campaigns in Southern Syria: the first extending probably from the 4th to the 8th year of the King, or from B.C. 741 to 737, and during which tribute was received from Menahem of Samaria and Rezin of Damascus; the second, some years later, perhaps about B.C. 733, when the cities of Samaria were plundered, and the inhabitants were carried away into captivity; and the third, which may have been a mere continuation of the second, and which must have occupied a large portion of the remainder of the King's reign, extending probably from B.C. 732 to 723.<sup>(19)</sup> To this last campaign, then, I assign, firstly, the defeat and death of Rezin, of which we have an imperfect notice on a fragment hitherto unpublished; secondly, the reduction of the Arab tribes who occupied the Desert as far as Egypt, and over whom *Idi-Bel* was placed as governor; and, thirdly, the conquest of a son of Rezin's, who probably inherited the old family name of Ben-hadad, together with the final destruction of Damascus,<sup>(20)</sup> and the exaction of tribute from all the petty kingdoms of Southern Syria, who were then governed by rulers different from those mentioned in the account of the first campaign, and some of whom, indeed, continued on to the times of Sargon and Sennacherib.<sup>(21)</sup> Thus, Hiram was king of Tyre in Tiglath-Pileser's first campaign, but *Mitenna* (*Muryevoc* of Menander) in the second; while *Khabiba* was Queen of the Arabs at the former period, but *Samsi* at the latter.<sup>(22)</sup> The last-named queen again was a contemporary of Sargon's, as also was her confederate *Khanun*, of Gaza; and two more of Tiglath-Pileser's antagonists in this third Syrian war, *Mitinti* and *Rukibtu*,<sup>(23)</sup> are even mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib; so that we can hardly err in assigning the campaign in question to a very late period of Tiglath-Pileser's reign. The important inference, then, which I draw from this approximate determination of date is, that the name of *Yahukhaz*, king of Judæa, which also appears among the later Syrian tributaries, cannot apply to Uzziah, as I have hitherto supposed on purely etymological grounds, but must really represent the Ahaz of the Bible; though whether the Assyrian nomenclature is corrupt, or whether the Hebrews may not rather have altered the name from *Yahukhaz* to Ahaz, *Ἰῆκ*, because they were unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting it with so wicked a monarch, is more than I can undertake to decide.

I will now state, in a few words, the view that I am disposed to adopt with regard to the Biblical synchronisms. The exaction of tribute from Menahem I refer to Tiglath-Pileser's 4th year or B.C. 741. Pekabiah may have ascended the throne of Samaria the same year, and Pekah the year follow-

ing. The great Assyrian raid upon Samaria, and the carrying away of the tribes from beyond the Jordan, which I suppose to belong to one expedition,—the two passages in Scripture, 2 Kings xv. 29, and 1 Chron. v. 26, referring to the same event,—I would assign to Tiglath-Pileser's 12th year, or B.C. 733, answering to the 7th year of Pekah; and I would further conjecture, that Ahaz ascended the throne of Judah at about the same period, since Pekah's reign of 20 years ended in the 12th of Ahaz. The third or great Syrian campaign of Tiglath-Pileser, which brought under the yoke of Nineveh, Tyre and Aradus, the Ammonites, the Moabites and the Edomites, Ascalon and Gazah, Damascus and Judæa, would then coincide with a period (from B.C. 732 to 728) during which Rezin, Pekah and Ahaz were, according to Scripture, on the respective thrones of Damascus, Samaria and Jerusalem. This scheme, no doubt, involves a certain alteration of the Hebrew numbers in regard to the reigns of Jotham and Pekah,<sup>(24)</sup> but the names and events which are alone of real importance come out with sufficient consistency. The least satisfactory identification is that which assigns the deportation of the Trans-Jordan tribes, doubtfully alluded to in the Inscriptions, to the year B.C. 733. From the allocation of the mutilated passage in which Samaria is mentioned, the raid in question might be supposed to have followed the attack on the Arabs bordering on Egypt, and to have thus belonged to the third Syrian war of Tiglath-Pileser; but I observe that the opening expression of the paragraph refers to a former expedition; and I venture, therefore, to ante-date the event accordingly.<sup>(25)</sup> That Tiglath-Pileser, at any rate, did really subjugate the dependencies of Samaria, is shown by some geographical evidence recently discovered of a very remarkable character. In the Catalogue of Syrian Cities tributary to Nineveh, of which we have several copies in a more or less perfect state, and varying from each other both in arrangement and extent, there are three names which are uniformly grouped together, and which read *Manatsuah*, *Magidu* and *Du'ru*. As these names are associated with those of Samaria, Damascus, Arpad, Hamath, Carchemish, Hadrach, Zobah, Zimriah, &c.,<sup>(26)</sup> there can be no doubt of the position of the cities; and I propose, therefore, to identify the names with the Manasseh, Megiddo and Dur of the Bible,<sup>(27)</sup> the two latter being, as is well known, cities of Manasseh, though within the borders of Issachar. It is, then, curious to find, in the distribution list of the officers of Tiglath-Pileser's Court, that Governors are sent by the king for the first time to *Manatsuah* and *Du'ru*, as well as to the other chief cities of Southern Syria which had recently fallen into his hands.

Tiglath-Pileser reigned, according to the Canon,

(24) The reign of Jotham, which is variously stated in Scripture at 16 and 20 years, I suppose to include the period when he was "judging the people of the land," during his father's seclusion as a leper—2 Kings xv. 5. He only survived his father probably 7 or 8 years. In 2 Kings xvi. 1, I would propose also to read the 17th instead of the 17th year of Pekah, as the date of the accession of Ahaz.

(25) See Layard's 'Ins.' Pl. 66, l. 17. I have long been acquainted with this interesting passage, but formerly attributed the Inscription, in which it occurs, as well as the kindred Inscription on Pl. 72 and 73, to Shalmaneser—see Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 471, note 7. The summary, to which I have often alluded, has since shown me that both of the Inscriptions in question belong to Tiglath-Pileser. It is to the summary too that we are indebted for the only mention of Egypt at this period.

(26) These geographical lists, which contain in some instances a column detailing the amount of tribute payable by each city, are of great value in illustrating the Scriptural notices of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. Zobah, for instance, in the lists is joined with Hamath, and may thus really, as the Arab geographers assert, be represented by *Kinissirin*, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the Desert between Hamah and Aleppo. The Hadrach of Scripture also has been hitherto supposed to be another name for Damascus; but from its position in the lists I should be inclined to identify it with Homs or Emesa, which was certainly a very ancient capital, being the Kedesh of the Egyptian records,—and which would not otherwise be represented in the Assyrian Inscriptions. To the lists in question too we are indebted for the positioning of *Gozan* on the river of *Nisibin*, and for an approximate indication to the site of the *Rezep* of the Bible.

(27) The identification of *Manatsuah*, or as it is sometimes written *Mannusuah*, with Manasseh מַנַּשֶׁה is not quite satisfactory, as the orthography differs considerably from that used to represent the name of Manasseh, king of Judæa, in Esar-Haddon's famous catalogue of his Syrian and Greek allies, given in Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' Pl. 48, No. 1, l. 2.

18 years. There are many legal documents in the Museum dated from the Eponymes of his reign, but in no instance is there a numerical date also, so that in regard to this portion of the Canon the means of verification are wanting. I observe, however, that *Asshur-danin-anni*, who was sent as governor to Media early in the reign, served as Eponyme according to the Canon for the King's 13th year.

Of Tiglath-Pileser's successor nothing whatever has been found in the Inscriptions. The Canon shows that the King reigned 5 years, that is, from B.C. 726 to 721; but he probably never served as Eponyme, and his name therefore does not appear in the list. There is no foundation whatever for M. Oppert's assertion that the name of the first Eponyme may be read as *Shalmaneser*. The question, indeed, whether that was really the name of the successor of Tiglath-Pileser depends upon the determination of the date of the capture of Samaria; and I shall examine the latter point therefore before I venture on any hypothesis with regard to the predecessor of Sargon.

Hitherto all inquirers have been content to adopt the 1st or 2nd year of Sargon, that is, B.C. 721–20, for the date of the fall of Samaria and the great captivity of the Israelites, founding on a mutilated fragment of the Khursabad Annals (Botta's Plates, pl. 70), which I had first, I believe, the honour of bringing to notice; but this identification is by no means so well established as is generally supposed. There are indeed grave objections to it, which may be thus enumerated: 1stly, the deportation of 27,280 persons from Samaria, which is all that Sargon claims to have accomplished in his 1st year, can hardly represent the carrying away of "all Israel," the country indeed being at that period so populous that Pekah had slain 120,000 men of Judah in one day, without any sensible effect on the number of the inhabitants. 2ndly, Samaria could not have been annihilated on this occasion as described in the Bible, for immediately afterwards the Samaritans joined a confederacy of the cities of Southern Syria against the power of Nineveh. 3rdly, Samaria seems to have been still troublesome several years later, for Sargon in his 7th year planted a colony of Thamudites and other Arabs in the country to overawe the original inhabitants. 4thly, Nor does it appear how Sargon could have peopled Samaria with immigrants from Babylon and Cutha and Sepharvaim in his 1st or 2nd year, since those cities were then under the independent rule of Merodach-Baladan, and were not subjected to Assyria till long afterwards.

A further chronological argument against the date of B.C. 721 for the final fall of Samaria may be thus stated. We have an interval between two fixed events, namely, the last year of Menahem and the attack on Jerusalem by Sennacherib in Hezekiah's 14th year, which we can calculate with some precision both from the Bible and from the Canon, and with exactly the same result. I have already shown that the last year of Menahem was the 4th or 5th of Tiglath-Pileser—that is, B.C. 741–40. The invasion of Palestine, on the other hand, occurred in the 3rd or 4th year of Sennacherib—that is, in 702–1; and the interval therefore, according to the Canon, between the two events was about 39 years. In Scripture we have after Menahem 2 years for Pekabiah, 20 for Pekah, 9 for Hoshea to the fall of Samaria, and 8 more to the 14th of Hezekiah, giving also a total of 39 years, in exact accordance with the other calculation. But if this be admitted as genuine chronology, then the final capture of Samaria, at 31 years from the beginning and 8 years from the end of the interval, must be held to have occurred in Sargon's 13th year, or B.C. 709, and not in his 1st year, which was B.C. 721; and the incongruities already noticed which arise from our adoption of the latter date will be avoided. In fact, we may suppose the occupation of Samaria, assigned in the Inscriptions to Sargon's 1st or 2nd year, if that date be verified, to have occurred under Pekah, and to be the realization of the denunciations which seem to be especially directed against "the son of Remaliah," in the 7th and 8th chapters of Isaiah; while the hostile proceedings against Samaria, anterior to the final siege, which are described in the opening verses of the 17th chapter of 2 Kings,

(19) For the 1st campaign, besides the duplicate list of Syrian tributaries in Layard's 'Inscriptions,' see, probably, Pl. 65 and 71. The notice of Samaria, which I refer to the 2nd campaign, is contained in lines 17 and 18 of Pl. 66; and I collect the details of the 3rd campaign from Pl. 72, supplemented by the important historical summary recently brought to light, and now printed for the 2nd volume of the Museum 'Inscriptions.'

(20) The word *Khadara*, which commences line 11 of Pl. 73 of Layard's 'Inscriptions,' seems to be the end of the name of the son of Rezin, and may be the *רִזְיָה* of the Bible, which is rendered in the version of the LXX by *Ἀδὲρ*, the last letter being read as *γ* rather than *τ*.

(21) In the summary of Tiglath-Pileser's annals the names of the Syrian tributaries are all included in one list; but the last 12 or 13 names, of which 8 are legible, do not appear in the catalogue as recorded before the King's 9th year, and are therefore referred by me to a later period of his reign.

(22) It is interesting to observe that *Samsi*, Queen of the Arabs, is called the "sun-worshipper" in this passage (Layard's 'Cun. Ins.' Pl. 73, line 16), while in the Annals of Sargon she is joined with *It-hamar* the Sabæan; so that the Sabæism of the Arabs may be inferred even at that early period. I have always maintained, on the evidence of this connection between the Idumean Arabs who were governed by Queens and the Sabæans, who were contemporaneous with Egypt, that the Queen of Sheba came from the vicinity of Mount Sinai rather than from the southern extremity of the Arabian Peninsula.

(23) For *Mitinti* and *Rukibtu* see Layard's 'Ins.' Pl. 73, l. 12 and 18. *Mitinti* of Ascalon also appears among the tributaries in Tiglath-Pileser's summary, and again in Sennacherib's Annals, Rawlinson's 'Ins.' Pl. 38, col. 2, l. 51, where, however, he is named as Governor of Ashdod, the son of *Rukibtu* being at that time chief of Ascalon.



will then apply to a General of the name of Shalmaneser who may have been employed by Sargon in Palestine, while the king himself was preparing for the invasion of Babylon. We must suppose, however, in this case that the actual siege and destruction of Samaria, as being the work of a subordinate, are unnoticed in Sargon's autographic Annals, unless indeed the title which he takes in his latest extant record (Layard's 'Ins.' Pl. 33, line 8) of "conqueror of the remote Judea," may refer to this achievement. I do not pretend at the same time that this novel explanation is altogether satisfactory. On the contrary, I am aware that it is open to many serious objections, but at any rate it merits, I think, consideration, as preserving the general integrity of the Hebrew numbers, which must otherwise be altered throughout, the first portion of time between the date of Menahem and the capture of Samaria being curtailed as much as the second portion between the capture of Samaria and Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine is lengthened.

In regard to the predecessor of Sargon, who reigned 5 years, according to the Canon, if the date of the capture of Samaria should be brought down to Sargon's 13th year, and the claim of the nameless king to represent the Biblical Shalmaneser should thus fall to the ground, I would then propose to identify him with the Assyrian monarch of whom we have a solitary record in the inscription on the barrel cylinder, published in my 'Cuneiform Inscriptions,' Pl. 8, No. 6. The name of the king in question ends in *iskun*, and he certainly belongs to a late period of Assyrian history, and unless a place can be found for him between Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, I know not where he can possibly be interpolated. The identification, however, mainly depends on the reading of the name of the Eponyme from whom the barrel cylinder is dated. This name is *Daddi*, and may, by possibility, be the same as the name of the Eponyme in the Canon for the year B.C. 724, but the assimilation of the two readings is, I confess, exceedingly doubtful.

The Canon gives a duration of 17 years for the reign of Sargon, which is in exact conformity with Ptolemy, who allows 12 years to Mardocempadus, or Merodach-Baladan, and 5 years to Archianus, the former king having ascended the throne of Babylon the same year that Sargon came into power at Nineveh, and Archianus being either Sargon himself, as at first suggested by Dr. Hincks, or the Assyrian Viceroy appointed after Sargon's conquest of Babylon. I have examined a vast number of tablets in the British Museum, dated from the Eponymes of Sargon's reign, but in no instance have I found a second or numerical date; and I am unable, therefore, either to confirm or to contradict M. Oppert's statement that Sargon did not assume the royal title till his 4th year. I would only observe that if the tablet in the Louvre, dated from the Eponyme of *Mannu-ki-Ashur*, really belongs, as M. Oppert states, to the 12th, and not the 14th, year of Sargon, then the king's reign must be held to have commenced from his 3rd year, or B.C. 719, the year before he reigned as Eponyme.<sup>(28)</sup>

The reign of Sennacherib, which follows that of Sargon, is determined by the Canon to have been

of 24 years' duration, extending from B.C. 704 to 680; and there are ample means of verifying its internal dates, both from Greek and cuneiform sources. Thus the opening war with Merodach-Baladan, the appointment at its close of *Bel-ipti* to the Vice-royalty of Babylon,<sup>(29)</sup> and his subsequent supersession by *Ashur-nadin*, the king's eldest son, which events are severally detailed on the famous Sennacherib Cylinder, coincide to a nicety, both with the account in Polyhistor and with Ptolemy's dates of B.C. 702 and 699, for the respective reigns of Belibus and Apronadius. The 6 petty numbers also in Ptolemy intervening between Archianus and Asaradinus (or Sargon and Esar-Haddon) exactly make up the aggregate of 24 years, which the Canon assigns to the whole reign of Sennacherib.

In regard to the Eponymes, I have already pointed out that the Bellino Cylinder recording the first two campaigns of Sennacherib is dated from *Nabo-liah*, the Eponyme of the 4th year answering to the Canon, and that the Taylor Cylinder which recapitulates the events of nine expeditions dates from *Bel-timmi-ani*, the Eponyme of the 15th year; and I may here add, as a further confirmation, and notwithstanding Dr. Hincks's statement to the contrary, that the Eponyme named on the fragment (Rawlinson's 'Cun. Ins.' Pl. 7, G.) dated from Sennacherib's 22nd year, is the same as the 22nd Eponyme in the Canon,<sup>(30)</sup> and that a similar means of verification is afforded by another fragment dated from the 7th year of Sennacherib, and bearing also the name of the 7th Eponyme. There is one tablet, again, in the Museum dated from Sennacherib's own Eponyme, which is an additional proof of the superiority of No. I., in point of accuracy, to the other copies of the Canon.<sup>(31)</sup>

On the subject of the Biblical synchronisms I have not much which is new to communicate. It seems to be now generally admitted that there were two invasions of Palestine during the reign of Hezekiah; the first in B.C. 701, when Sennacherib overran the country and exacted a heavy tribute, as stated in the Inscriptions and 2 Kings xviii. 13-16; and the second some thirteen or fourteen years later, which ended in the discomfiture of the Assyrians. In the Bible it would seem as if the illness of Hezekiah, the Embassy from Merodach-Baladan, and the attack of Sennacherib in Jerusalem, had occurred almost simultaneously, or belonged, at any rate, to the same year; but the Inscriptions show that there must necessarily have been a brief interval between the events, for Merodach-Baladan could not have sent his Embassy after he was driven into exile by Sennacherib in B.C. 703-2, and that catastrophe preceded, by at least a year or two, the first Assyrian invasion of Palestine. Supposing the illness of Hezekiah, and the communication from Merodach-Baladan to belong to the year B.C. 703, then, as the Jewish monarch survived that event fifteen years, his death would have taken place in B.C. 688; and he might thus very well have invited the assistance of Tirhakah, in B.C. 689, to beat off the renewed attack of the Assyrians, that monarch having, as recent hieroglyphical discoveries have clearly established, ascended the throne of Æthiopia and Egypt in B.C. 690.<sup>(32)</sup>

From the commencement of the reign of Esar-Haddon, our direct chronological evidence breaks down. The Canon must have contained about

forty names of Eponymes for the two reigns of Esar-Haddon and *Ashur-bani-pal* (or Sardanapalus), and it is probable that we have recovered all these names from the dated tablets in the Museum<sup>(33)</sup>; but it is impossible at present to arrange the Eponymes in their proper order, or to distribute them between the two reigns; since there are but 3 fragments extant of this portion of the Canon, containing in all no more than 20 names; and the regnal division between Esar-Haddon and *Ashur-bani-pal* is, moreover, wanting.<sup>(34)</sup> It is only therefore indirectly that we can complete the chronological scheme, and test the accuracy of Ptolemy's dates, from the accession of Asaridinus (or Esar-Haddon) to the united throne of Babylon and Assyria. Ptolemy, as is well known, gives to this king a reign of 13 years, and to his successor, Saoduchinus, a reign of 24 years. Turning, then, to Egyptian history, we find that Tirhakah, of Æthiopia, who ascended the throne, as we have already seen, in B.C. 690, reigned for 26 years, or until 664; and it is highly satisfactory, therefore, to trace in the Inscriptions that *Ashur-bani-pal* was engaged in war for the first two or three years of his reign with Tirhakah, at which period Tirhakah died (or abdicated, for the passage is incomplete), and was succeeded by his stepson, *Urdamané*, who conducted the last campaign in Egypt against the Assyrians;<sup>(35)</sup> so that we may now confidently assign the accession of *Ashur-bani-pal* to the third year before the death of Tirhakah, that is, to B.C. 667, which is also the year of the accession of Saoduchinus to the throne of Babylon; and the last remaining link in this curious chronological chain is the discovery that *Ashur-bani-pal* and his younger brother *Saul-mugina* did really thus succeed to power together: a barrel cylinder which has recently been found at Babylon commemorating the installation of the latter on the throne of Babylon by his elder brother *Ashur-bani-pal*, king of Assyria, immediately after the death of their father Esar-Haddon.<sup>(36)</sup>

The only other synchronism which might assist in fixing the date of the accession of *Ashur-bani-pal*, is the notice which occurs in his annals under the 4th or 5th year, of an expedition conducted by him against the Cimmerians of Asia Minor, and his exaction of tribute from Gyges, king of Lydia. According to the received chronology, Ardys succeeded Gyges on the throne of Lydia in B.C. 678. But this date is contested, and in the opinion of many should be considerably lowered; and at any rate Archilochus, who was notoriously contempo-

(33) The dated tablets and cylinders, or fragments of cylinders in the British Museum, exceed 150 in number, but a very small proportion of these contain also the year of the King's reign from which they were dated, so that, after all, they are of no great chronological value, unless indeed, as the inquiry proceeds, we may be able to identify the year from the names of the witnesses attached to the document.

(34) The concluding portion of M. Oppert's Canon, as published in his 'Fastes de Ninive,' is deserving of no attention whatever. The names from B.C. 675 and 663 are fictitious; that is, they do not represent Eponymes at all, but belong to an indiscriminate list of the officers of the Assyrian Court; and the interpolation of the two kings Tiglath-Pileser V. and *Ashur-idit-il III.* is equally unauthorized. I have no conception, indeed, from whence M. Oppert has derived these names. They are certainly not to be found in any document to which I have had access, nor is there any room for them chronologically in the lists.

(35) A further considerable number of fragments, relating to the wars of Esar-Haddon and *Ashur-bani-pal*, in Egypt, have been discovered, since I published my 'Illustrations of Egyptian History and Chronology from the Cuneiform Inscriptions,' in Vol. VII. of the New Series of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, and our knowledge of these events, which are hardly mentioned by classical writers, is thus much increased, but there is still very little to be altered or amended in my former sketch. The Nile is mentioned in one of these fragments under the name of *Yaruku*, almost like the *Ἰαρούς* of the Hebrews.

(36) As the reading of *Saul-mugina* for the king whom *Ashur-bani-pal* placed on the throne of Babylon is not quite certain, it is hardly worth while at present to discuss the process by which may have been obtained the corrupted Greek orthography of Saoduchinus. In regard to the identity of the two kings there can be no doubt whatever, and this identity ought to have been recognized long ago, since there is a passage in my published 'Inscriptions,' Pl. 8, No. 11, l. 11, which commemorates this appointment by *Ashur-bani-pal* of his younger brother, *Saul-mugina*, to the sovereignty of *Kara-dunias* (or Babylon). The *Sam-mugina* of Polyhistor (probably for *Sam-mugina*) is of course the same king, and he is there correctly stated to be the brother of Sardanapalus, though there is some confusion between the Governments of Nineveh and Babylon.

(28) M. Oppert has taken it for granted that a certain Egyptian general who in confederacy with *Khanus*, King of Gazah, contended with the Assyrians at *Raphia*, or *Raphia*, in B.C. 719, is the Sevechos of Manetho and the So, *Σοῦς*, of Scripture, and certainly the name of this General, which I have hitherto given as *Puluhi*, may also read *Sibahi*, the initial element which has the phonetic value of *Pulu* being equivalent to *Siba* in Turanian and to *Riku* in Semitic, *פּוּל*, with the sense of "feeding" or "ruling"; but if Tirhakah—as is almost certain—ascended the throne in B.C. 690, since the united reigns of his two Ethiopian predecessors did not exceed at most 24 years, neither of them could possibly have been *Sultan* of Egypt, as M. Oppert supposes, in 719. The title, however, which the leader of the Egyptian forces bears in the Khirabad Inscriptions is certainly a subordinate one, occurring in the lists after that of *Tartan*; and it is just possible, therefore, that the Ethiopian *Sebehi* may in B.C. 719 have been in an inferior position under Bochoris, and have thus led the Egyptian forces at *Raphia*. When Sargon indeed received tribute from Egypt in B.C. 715-14, a native Pharaoh was still on the throne (reigning apparently at Sals in the Delta, or he would hardly have been mixed up with Arabian and Sabeian tribes), and in all probability the Ethiopians did not succeed to the supreme power till B.C. 712.

(29) I explained in one of my letters of last year that the name of this viceroy could not possibly be read as *Bel-ipti*, as had been previously proposed; but Ptolemy's *Belibus* may at the same time very well represent *Bel-ipti*, as his *Nadius* represents, I think, *Nadina*.

(30) The name of this Eponyme, which is *Mannu-sir-iti* in the Canon, appears under various forms in the dated tablets. The form used on the fragment, which also bears the date of the 22nd year of Sennacherib, is *Ma-sar-iti*. The name probably signifies "Who is the seed of the Gods."

(31) That is, because Canon No. I. retains the true orthography of *Sin-akh-irba* for the 19th Eponyme of this reign, while No. 3 has the vicious reading of *Ashur-akh-irba*.

(32) For the details of this calculation, which is now, I believe, admitted by all Egyptologists, see Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' Vol. I. p. 479, note 9. It is also not a little remarkable that Demetrius, the Alexandrian Jew, refers the captivity by Sennacherib to the very year B.C. 689-8, which I have here shown to be that in which the Assyrian monarch attacked Jerusalem for the second time—see Clem. Alex. Stum. p. 337.

rary with Gyges, is assigned by Eusebius to B.C. 665 and by Hieronymus to 662, which, according to the Inscriptions, must have been about the date of the Assyrian campaign beyond the Taurus.

There are no means whatever of determining the length of the reign of *Ashur-bani-pal*. Two copies of the Canon, No. I. and No. III., were certainly compiled during the lifetime of this king, though at different periods of his reign, the former ending, probably, at about the 15th year, and the latter at the 27th; but how long he may have survived the compilation of No. III. it is impossible to say. I should suppose that *Ashur-bani-pal* placed *Kin-ladunus* on the throne of Babylon in succession to *Säul-mugina*, in B.C. 647, and that his own reign was, probably, protracted till about B.C. 635, which would thus allow a period of ten years for the reign of the last king, under whom, in the year B.C. 625, Nineveh was finally destroyed by the united forces of the Medes and Babylonians. Of this last king I have found several new memorials among the miscellaneous tablets in the Museum, one of which records also the name of his daughter, *Nergal-enirät*, but there is nothing in them of chronological import. His full name appears to have been *Ashur-irik-ili-kin*, which, however, was contracted into *Ashur-irik-kin* or *Ashur-irik-ilin*; and in the first two elements, therefore, we may recognize, without much chance of error, the original of the Saracus of Abydenus.<sup>(37)</sup>

I could mention several other curious illustrations which have recently come to light of this last chapter in the history of Assyria, but my letter has already run to an immoderate length; and I will only, therefore, in conclusion, congratulate those who are interested in cuneiform research on two recent circumstances. The one is, that the Institute of France, the first critical body in the world, has just conferred its biennial prize of 20,000 francs on M. Oppert for his Assyrian decipherments,—thereby guaranteeing in the face of Europe the authenticity and value of our labours, and putting to shame the continued scepticism of England; and the other is, that the Queen's Government, on the renewed recommendation of the Trustees of the British Museum, has authorized a further small outlay on experimental excavations in South-western Babylonia, to be undertaken during the ensuing cold season by Col. Kemball, Consul-General in Turkish Arabia, in connexion with the work of extending the electric telegraph from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. Several new sites of the most promising character have been recently discovered and examined by our surveying officers in that quarter; and I have thus every hope that before the end of the year we shall receive considerable additions to our knowledge of the early Babylonian Empire.

H. C. RAWLINSON.

#### OUR WEEKLY GOSSIP.

Earl Stanhope, President of the Society of Antiquaries, has accepted office as one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Shakespeare Committee. During the past week, the following gentlemen have joined the Committee:—The Right. Hon. William Cowper (First Commissioner of Public Works), the Very Rev. Dr. Hook (Dean of Chichester), Mr. J. Pope Hennessy, M.P., E. G. Monk, of York, Doctor of Music, M. Louis Blanc, Mr. J. H. Foley, R.A., Mr. R. Walters, Mr. Charles Knight, Mr. Sims Reeves, Mr. Jules Benedict, and others.

We have another and welcome bit of Shakspearian gossip in a note from Mr. Halliwell:—

"Stratford-on-Avon, Aug. 19, 1863.

"I have the pleasure of informing you that excavations I have lately caused to be made on the east (the garden) side of the site of New Place, have resulted in the discovery of the foundations of a large bay-window, which is undoubtedly a fragment of the Poet's residence. There are other remains also laid bare, and it is hoped that the

works now in progress will reveal other relics; but the discovery now mentioned of the end of a room out of which Shakspeare must often have looked, and which, most probably, was his study, appears to be one of so much interest, I cannot help thinking that you will be glad to draw public attention to it. That the remains of the window belong to Shakspeare's New Place, not to the later Clopton residence, is a fact which admits of absolute proof, their situation and character being altogether inconsistent with the known disposition of the latter building.—Yours, &c.

"J. O. HALLIWELL."

Mr. Marshall Wood has received a commission from the Mayor of Halifax to execute marble busts of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, to be placed in the new Town Hall, in commemoration of the recent royal visit.

Mr. Joshua Alder, whose participation in the bounty of the Government we recorded last week, is known to naturalists as an able observer of the lower forms of animal life. The great work published by the Ray Society, on the British Nudi-branchiate Mollusca, was written by him conjointly with his fellow townsman, Mr. Albany Hancock. Mr. Alder has contributed a number of papers to the various natural history reviews, and has added a large number of new species to the British Fauna. Messrs. Alder and Hancock are both inhabitants of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in the approaching gathering of the great men of science there will be found few who have won for themselves a more desirable reputation than the authors of the 'British Nudi-branchiate Mollusca.' Both these gentlemen have been engaged in business, but Mr. Alder unfortunately lost the accumulated gains of his life through the failure of the Newcastle Bank, some years ago, and the Government bounty will be in his present state of health and increasing years an acceptable recognition of his services to science.

'Mr. Buckle in the East' is the subject of a paper in the current number of a monthly contemporary, which has been strongly criticized by friends of the departed historian. Mr. Glennie, the author of that paper, wishes to make the following explanation:—

"Athenæum Club, Aug. 18, 1863.

"I find that those friends of the late Mr. Buckle, extracts from whose letters from him are incorporated in my paper, with the above title, in the current number of *Fraser*, have been much pained by the conclusions drawn, as to the character of Mr. Buckle, in some of the notices of the article. It seems to them that it may appear that they also participate in these conclusions. I would beg you, therefore, to allow me, in your universally-read journal, to disassociate entirely from the article these friends of Mr. Buckle. I consider this not only a matter of duty in respect to them, but a point of honour to myself. The letters were used only to convey a favourable impression of Mr. Buckle's character; and, in order that room might be found for them, I deleted extracts from my own letters of equal length. In reference to the article itself, let me say that that notice of it in which it is said that 'the writer shows throughout his respect and affection for the deceased philosopher, and conveys the same kindly feeling to the reader,' shows that I have not utterly failed in giving the impression I intended. Further, I should not have thought the article worth the time spent on it had it not been for those more general views with which I wrote it. First, it seemed that, if Mr. Buckle were adequately represented as the mixed character which he, in truth, appeared to me to be, and almost all those of his friends and acquaintances I happen to know, there ought to be some finer moral effect than a mere eulogy could produce; and, secondly, I should have wished it to be felt that there is a far higher school of science than that of Deists like Mr. Buckle—a school which unites with the thorough criticism the profoundest moral sympathy. The difference of these schools will become vividly apparent if we contrast the spirit in which Mr. Buckle with that in which M. Ernest Renan, previously to publishing his 'Vie de Jésus,' made his pilgrimage through the Holy Land. It may be well to add, that this letter has been sug-

gested only by my own feeling of what was right under the circumstances.

"J. S. STUART GLENNIE."

A note put out by the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, on the Result of Examinations of Science, Schools and Classes in May of the present year, gives us some interesting statistics. From this note we learn that the total number of individuals under instruction in 1863 was 3,811; in 1862 it was 3,413. Of these 869 were in uncertificated classes last year, and about 700 this year: making the increase in students in certificated classes between May 1862 and May 1863 no less than 566. The total number of individual candidates who applied for examination in 1863 was 2,000, and in 1862, 1,708. The number of papers worked in 1863 was 2,671; there being in Practical, Plane and Descriptive Geometry, 288; in Mechanical and Machine Drawing, 194; in Building, Construction and Naval Architecture, 107; in Theoretical Mechanics, 35; in Applied Mechanics, 22; in Acoustics, Light and Heat, 121; in Magnetism and Electricity, 207; in Inorganic Chemistry, 679; in Organic Chemistry, 157; in Geology, 129; in Mineralogy, 46; in Animal Physiology, 343; in Zoology, 41; in Vegetable Physiology and Economic Botany, 126; in Systematic Botany, 84; in Mining, 29; in Metallurgy, 63; in 1862 the total number of papers was 1,943. The number of provincial local centres where examinations were held in 1863 was 64; and in 1862, 45. The number of metropolitan centres where examinations were held (including the Science and Art Department) was, in 1863, 7; in 1862, 9. In 1863 the total number of successes were 2,127, viz. passes, 668; honourable mentions, 510; third grade prizes, 458; second grade prizes, 309; and first grade prizes, 182; and 544 failures. In 1862 the total number of successes was 1,480, viz. passes, 791; third grade prizes, 296; second grade prizes, 237; and first grade prizes, 156; and 463 failures.

The works at Shrewsbury Abbey Church are now nearly brought to an end. These comprise the re-establishment of the structural parts of the edifice, the restoration, so to say, of much of its foundation, and strong under-pinning. Some centuries ago, the ancient Norman clerestory had been destroyed and the roof lowered to the level of the triforium arcade. Lack of funds determined the committee not to attempt to replace this clerestory, or restore the transepts and part of the choir, as at first proposed. The lighting of the interior has been obtained by opening the triforium arcade and fitting it in accordance with the character of that part of the structure, and in something like harmony with the western and later parts of the building. The gallery that filled up the interior tower base, with the cumbersome organ it supported, has been removed, and the windows on the inside of the town, being of fine proportions, have been opened. Thus, the great west window is now displayed.

We are in receipt of many letters on the use of certain terms in physical geography, elicited by those of Col. Greenwood and Prof. Jukes, in these pages. We fear, however, to extend the area of debate, and must therefore give those of the principals in the discussion only. Col. Greenwood writes:

"Brookwood Park, Alresford, Aug. 18, 1863.

"In the *Athenæum* of Saturday last, Mr. Jukes, speaking of the word 'watershed,' says that he 'must certainly deny that it is ever misunderstood or misused by the multitude.' As the multitude do not habitually commit themselves in black and white, it is difficult to imagine on what Mr. Jukes grounds this opinion. At any rate it is impossible to controvert it as to the matter of fact. But as scientific people do habitually commit themselves in black and white, it is easy to show, as a matter of fact, that the word is 'misunderstood and misused' by them. Mr. Hind, in his work on the Saskatchewan River, uses 'watershed' as often in its English sense, 'waterslope' or valley, as in its German sense, 'dividing ridge.' Up to page 76, vol. i., he uses the word three times in one sense and three times in the other sense, while in a seventh case he leaves me in doubt in which of the

(37) This name has been hitherto read as *Ashur-emit-ili*; but a variant reading is given by me, from a brick, in my 'Inscriptions,' Pl. 8, No. III., and the same reading, which gives *irik* or *irivik* for the second element of the name, is universally employed on the dated tablets.



two senses he intends to use the word. Besides this, he uses the words 'water-parting,' 'dividing ridge,' the French '*hauteur de terre*,' and its American and Canadian translation 'height of land.' So that throughout the book we get such expressions as 'the connexions which exist between different watersheds by means of swamps at the height of land,' page 58. And 'the height of land between the two watersheds,' page 407. After this, one would think it probable that the word might be 'misunderstood and misused by the multitude.' At any rate, it would surely be better that the English sense of our compound words should express what we mean instead of what we do not mean.

GEORGE GREENWOOD, Colonel."

—Prof. Jukes also writes:—

"Pool Park, Ruthin, Aug. 18, 1863.  
"It appears necessary to settle a definite meaning on some of the elementary terms in physical geography. Col. Greenwood's definition of a *valley* answers exactly to that of a *river basin*; but there certainly exist valleys which contain more than one river basin. It does not seem to me either feasible or desirable to disturb the ordinary meaning of the word *valley*, as a piece of ground partially inclosed by hills. The valley mentioned by me as running from Dingle Bay to Dungarvan Bay, across the south of Ireland, is bounded on each side by hills, but contains three river basins which are not separated from each other by any transverse ridge which is perceptible to the eye. The *watersheds* between them are quite insensible, and only to be discovered by an accurate survey. A large bog spreads all over the one near Mill Street. I could give many other examples, but being 'on leave of absence,' for some grouse-shooting, and not having our maps to refer to, will only mention one which I happen to recollect from having recently sent a description of it to press for one of the explanations of the maps of the Geological Survey. This is the valley of Anascasel, in the Dingle Promontory, a deep, narrow, longitudinal valley running between two lofty ridges for fifteen miles, parallel to the sea-coast and terminating in a small bay. The ridge on the south side of it is cut by two narrow ravines leading out two little brooks to the sea, so that with the brook running into the bay there are three small river basins in the valley, separated by very low watersheds, which form no apparent ridges as they run across the valley. Dr. Beke's word '*water-parting*' would not be applicable where there was a lake on the watershed, as in the cases mentioned by former Correspondents; the word should express not only the separation of the waters, but the *shedding* of them, or *causing them to flow*. It seems to me that the terms *valley*, *river basin*, *watershed*, are definite terms, which should not be confounded, and are not liable to be so if properly used. In referring to my Lectures on Physical Geography, I, of course, meant to say that I never found I had any occasion to explain these words, but that every one understood them without explanation. J. BEETE JUKES."

—We would suggest to our physical geographers the policy of discussing these questions in one of the Sections at Newcastle, where, possibly, an end might be made of them to the satisfaction of geographers and the great gain of science.

We have the satisfaction of hearing that the whole of the MS. of Mr. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon is copied out and ready for the press, so that, on the part of Mr. Lane, there will be no unnecessary delay.

At Cambridge, during this Long Vacation, several architectural improvements and alterations are in progress, which will greatly change the external appearance of the University. The most important of these is the extension of St. John's College, the site of which has been enlarged by the appropriation, under a private Act of Parliament, of St. John's Lane and the whole of the western side of St. John's Street. A new chapel and master's lodge have been already commenced, from the designs of Mr. G. G. Scott. The chapel will bear a close resemblance to that of Exeter College, Oxford, which was designed by the same gentleman. It will, however, be of far greater dimensions. The present chapel will be pulled

down, and its site thrown into the first court, while a considerable enlargement of the Hall will be effected by taking in the combination-room, the fine gallery in the present master's lodge being designed as the apartment wherein the Fellows shall, for the future, sip their post-prandial wine. The entrance to the new Lodge will be from Bride Street. In pulling down a number of old buildings during the progress of the works an interesting discovery was made of a handsome piscina, which, no doubt, formed part of the Hospital of St. John, the ancient foundation upon which the present college was engrafted, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. A want which has been long felt in the University will be supplied by the new lecture-rooms now in course of erection in the Old Botanic Garden. Mr. A. Salvin is the architect; but, although there can be no question as to the convenience of the buildings, it must be acknowledged that they have no pretensions to architectural beauty. At Pembroke College improvements of a minor character are in progress; they consist principally of restoring the stone-work of the ancient windows. The long-contemplated alterations in Great St. Mary's Church are now rapidly progressing. The gallery for the heads and professors, known as "Golgotha" has been entirely removed, and the chancel will be fitted up with stalls of an elaborate character, designed by Mr. Scott. It is expected that the church will be re-opened for Divine Service at Christmas. Meanwhile the University sermon is preached in King's College Chapel, but unfortunately that superb edifice is by no means well adapted for hearing. The new Church of All Saints is being erected on a site opposite the entrance to Jesus College. It is to be regretted that, owing to the inadequacy of the funds, Mr. Bodley, the architect, has been compelled to modify his plans very considerably, and the erection of the spire, a conspicuous feature in the design, is indefinitely postponed. The old church of All Saints will, on the completion of the new one, be taken down, and consequently the street opposite St. John's and Trinity Colleges will be considerably widened and improved. It is rumoured that the authorities of St. John's College are anxious that the monument of Kirke White should be removed to their new chapel; but the parishioners of All Saints are opposed to the project.

BRITISH INSTITUTION, Pall Mall.—The Gallery, with a Collection of Pictures by Ancient Masters and decorated British Artists, is OPEN DAILY, from Ten to Six, and WILL CLOSE on SATURDAY, August 29.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.  
GEORGE NICOL, Secretary.

MEETING FOR THE ENSUING WEEK.  
WED. British Association for the Advancement of Science.

## FINE ARTS

### WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

IN walking about Westminster Abbey, quite recently, we turned back from its wonted wide-open position one of the gates that guard the entrance to Henry the Seventh's chapel, and noticed that some attempts had been made, doubtless by an unauthorized person, to clean several of the rosettes and bosses affixed to the intersections of the styles of the same. In place of the dusky greenish grey of the long-tarnished gilding upon bronze—colour almost of bronze itself, and admirably harmonizing with the surrounding interior and its gravely-hued details—there appeared, as the result of this experiment, an imperfect surface, neither rich and brilliant, as the work was originally produced, nor sober and characteristic, as time has made the rest still untouched. We trust the authorities of the Abbey, who have recently so wisely declared their intention to resist the intrusion of incongruous monuments, will not less strenuously resist the advances of the more mischievous "restorer," under whatever name he may mask himself, and that this little beginning of "cleaning the dust off" may be stopped at once. Unauthorized or not, let us ask what can be gained by recalling a tarnished lustre to these gates, such as may accrue from a continuation of the "cleaning" in question? In the state so produced they will be neither one thing nor the other, neither

venerable nor new. To begin "cleaning" means to begin "restoring," and we are very sure the world does not desire a new, or "as good as new," Abbey at Westminster.

In due time many of the monuments may be removed to places where their offence will be less than it is now; even some of those which have merit, but are out of keeping with the building, must find a home elsewhere, so that people may decide if their excellence be of the best sort. Of these are the monuments to Capt. Montagu, in the north aisle, which completely conceals Lord Holland's bust; the group representing Fox reclining in the arms of Liberty, Peace at his feet, and the negro at his side. Lord Haughton himself would scarcely like to continue the intrusion of such productions as the statue of Wilberforce in a church, nor would his calm reflection desire to retain the grouping of seas, ships, sailors, anchors, nude admirals, pancake-like clouds, geni, sepoys, savages, lions, bears, Cupids, Victories, battles, *columnæ rostratæ*, coaches, guns, flags, spears, galleys, urns, spades, skulls, skeletons, trumpets, drums, steelyards, and Heaven knows what, that now load the finest Gothic church in England. Pitt may find a better place to declaim from than the top of the western door of an edifice which, when it is used, holds an audience that turns its back to him. Poor Pitt! Vice-Admiral Charles Watson may receive the obeisances of the Genius of Calcutta, and exhibit the humiliation of Chandernagore in chains, elsewhere than in the temple of mercy and of peace, or near the beautiful triforium, destroyed to give it room, of Westminster Abbey. "That amiable spy," Major André, might be commemorated in a better place than that which holds the monuments of Newton and a host of the truly glorious dead of England.

In many cases the monuments would be visibly improved by a fitter and properly designed location. The splendid statue of Watt that now fills up the whole Chapel of St. Paul, cannot be seen as a masterpiece of its sculptor's genius, though it hides all about it, and presents the problem of how the egg got into the bottle—so much larger is it than the space of entrance. Banks's monument to Sir Eyre Coote, Flaxman's to Chatham, that by Nolteken to the Captains of 1793, even the cumbersome slab that bears the monument to Wolfe, while it shuts off a whole chapel and hides the fine tomb of Sir Francis Vere—a great captain of his day to whom England owes that Wolfe should not overshadow him, and a host of others, are of this class. These would find a fit place in a British Valhalla not far from Westminster Abbey. Such of them as are not of an ecclesiastical character might well grace the interior of Barry's Houses of Parliament, while the spots in which the great English dead repose in the Abbey—might be marked on slabs in the floor, as was done by the grave of Newton and many more when it was convenient to remove the monuments from above them. Where would Mr. Gibson's statue of Sir Robert Peel look better than in the Houses of Parliament or a British Valhalla? In the last, at least, the peculiar incongruities of modern boots and a Roman toga would be lessened by the work being removed from a Gothic edifice.

It may be objected that it is difficult to draw the line of exclusion, and know what are the monuments to be retained, and what those to be removed. The objection is a common one, but has little force when we come to examine the circumstances of the question to be decided. Of course the most fit monuments for such an edifice as Westminster Abbey are those which are in keeping with its architecture; we should as soon think of pulling down the Confessor's Chapel as of removing his tomb, or those of the old kings and queens—Henry the Third, Edward the First, Edward the Third, Queen Eleanor, Richard the Second and his Queen—these, although they differ greatly in style from the admirable tombs on the north of the altar, i. e., those of Aymer de Valence, Edmund Crouchback, and the Countess of Lancaster. To these may be added the tombs of William de Valence, John of Eltham, Ludovick Robsart, Alianore de Bohun, Lord Berners, and those recumbent effigies, of

much later dates, upon altar-tombs which have a certain sepulchral propriety and dignity about them such as those to Sir Francis Vere and others, and generally every monument which from its age or situation commands a place or is not in violent antagonism to the architectural or sacred character of the edifice. This class of memorials should not be removed. It is strange that Henry the Third, re-founder of the Abbey as he was, should lie under a Romanesque tomb, quite at variance with the Gothic architecture about it.

It is so far fortunate that not only does the lapse of centuries call upon us to retain monuments of the class above named in the Abbey, but that there is impressed upon them a feeling of keeping with the purposes, if not with the architectural character, of the building. Most, if not all the modern tombs, statues, memorials, tablets, and what not, seem, and undoubtedly are, essentially Pagan in their character; at any rate, there is little or nothing to indicate that they commemorate men of Christian belief; not a Christian emblem is to be found upon a tenth part of them. Hope and her Anchor, Justice and her Scales, and other common-places, rule in the later works as completely as do the pressed palms, the ordered feet, the air of waiting and the Christian emblems on the more ancient burial-places. One feels at once, in looking at Flaxman's Lord Mansfield, that the sculptor intended to commemorate a great Judge, in the Pitt that spouts from above the western door an orator, in the Fox an individual of benevolent character and obese person, who died upon a palliase, attended by a negro and a strange lady of large proportions. Sir Robert Peel might be one of the Gracchi, Aristobulus, or an officer of the Tamworth Yeomanry, for all we learn by his tomb. In short, it is clear that these monuments "commemorate," in an uncouth and crude way, the personages whose names they bear and their doings in this world, rather than express their Christian faith, their immortal hopes, or even their personal appearance, which last, at least, might be expected from statues designed in such a limited and merely personal spirit. In designing them the sculptors have so far fulfilled the contract with their employers that they have prepared public monuments, fit for a Forum, Valhalla or square, but unfit for a church. They are memorials, but not tombs.

Opposed in spirit to these, even such monuments as that splendid piece of carving, the altar-tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, a late seventeenth-century work, or the catafalques, such as those of the Percys, or the "stately" Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, the "fantastical" pair, well known in Charles's time, which fill so much of the wall-space at Westminster, have something that is in keeping, much of it due to their age, with the existing appearance of the Abbey interior. We could not well remove these; their mischief is done and cannot be repaired, although the cumbersome backing to many of them might go, with profit to the building and no injury to themselves. These tombs generally, either by their inscriptions or characteristic decorations, have a Christian character, and are not seldom valuable as works of Art.

The mischief done to the Abbey by the introduction of unfit monuments dates, by far the greater portion of it at least, within the last hundred and fifty years. Mr. Secretary Craggs was an early and unblushing intruder; bare-legged he brought in his queer urn, and still stands shivering beside it. Then a host of undistinguished folks followed: the Honourable Mr. and Miss This and That, until the space that might have held the really great was filled with the very little. To make fresh "hanging" space for tablets and backgrounds for tombs, huge freestone walls were erected, shutting out the vistas, filling up arcades, and hiding or leading to the destruction of fine carvings and sculptures, and, in more than one case, altering the structural arrangement of the Abbey itself. Now almost all these encumbrances may be swept into a fitter place, and instead of filling up the spaces "between" (under) the nave arcade with rows of statues, as Lord Haughton proposes, we may, without the slightest approach to "restoration," again bring much of the glorious Abbey into

its proper condition by a careful clearance of space that ought never to have been filled.

**FINE-ART GOSSIP.**—Mr. J. J. Jenkins, Secretary to the Society of Painters in Water Colours, desires to correct a mistake made by Mr. Warren in his evidence given before the Royal Academy Commission. To the question, "When was the other Society of Painters in Water Colours established (i.e. the senior, or Mr. Jenkins's Society)? Mr. Warren replied, "At a much earlier date; it was first called the Society of Painters in Oil and Water Colours, and the Exhibition was held in Spring Gardens." Mr. Jenkins states this is wholly inaccurate. The Society he represents was first, as it now is, styled The Society of Painters in Water Colours,—not in Oil and Water Colours; it was founded for the exclusive exhibition of works in Water Colours, as a reference to the preface of the first printed Catalogue in 1805 will show. The first Exhibition was held in Lower Brook Street, not in Spring Gardens. Ten years after its foundation, the members opened their rooms to general exhibitors, and, for a few seasons, a limited number of oil pictures were admitted; but they early reverted to the original plan and the name by which the Society has been known to the present time. It is easy, let us add, to see how Mr. Warren has fallen into the error above explained. He has ante-dated the temporary admission of both classes of painting to the Water Colour Society's Exhibitions, and confounded that body's early existence with the exhibitions that were held for many years in Spring Gardens, not ceasing there until about the end of the second decade of this century. The occurrence of such errors as the above shows how desirable was the change of name on the part of Mr. Warren's Society from that of The New Society of Painters in Water Colours to the Institute of Painters in Water Colours.

The nave of York Minster has been quite recently, for the first time, lighted with gas.

Mr. G. F. Watts has undertaken to paint a fresco on the north wall of one of the new south-courts at the South Kensington Museum, in the gallery whence we look down into the space occupied by the Loan Collection. As to the Loan Collection, we may remind our readers that, although an immense proportion of its unrivalled mass of treasure has been removed, there still remains a vast number of interesting objects which are changed in position, removed and replaced by others from time to time as the liberality and convenience of their owners dictate.

Baron Marchetti's bronze statue of the Prince Consort, destined for a memorial at Aberdeen, is ready for casting, and will be inaugurated next month.

Some recent works in the well-known church of St. Cuthbert, at Wells, deserve record, especially as they have resulted in the discovery of a splendid altar to the Virgin, that had evidently been erected at no very distant period from when it was cast down in fragments by the iconoclasts. Placed on the east wall of the north transept several lines of sculptures, comprising figures of saints with their appropriate emblems, soar above one another; in the centre was the Virgin holding the Saviour on her knee. Her dress was the customary blue and red robe, powdered with gold stars. The figures are about four feet high, and all admirably sculptured in the late manner of the fifteenth century. The large size of the whole work gives it a claim to our interest seconded by the perfect condition of the figures, or rather their fragments, which were found buried in the plaster employed to fill up the niches and make the wall a smooth surface after they had been dashed down and broken into pieces. On the wall the rows of canopies, with exquisitely carved tabernacle-work, bearing delicate fan-tracery over the head of each figure, remain marvellously perfect; the roses that had been wrought on the pendants, the cusplings and other details are not to be surpassed for finish and preservation. Upon the entire remains the original colourings, red, green, blue and white, exist in a very vivid condition, and the gilding, which

had been profusely employed, is still hardly tarnished. On the corresponding wall of the south transept in the same church has been found a remarkable Jesse tree, or genealogy of Christ, carved in stone and coloured. The original contract for the execution of this still exists among the city records, and specifies the price at which the whole was produced, namely, 40*l.*, a marvellously small sum unless, as was probable, the contract included board and lodging for the carvers at the expense of the corporation during their labours. We are glad to learn there is a probability of the splendid proportions of this church being revealed interiorly by removal of certain galleries and opening the tower-arch, now blocked by the organ. We need hardly commend to the student of architecture or admirer of noble buildings the magnificent tower of St. Cuthbert's, which, for grace of composition and perfect proportion, is a model of design, surpassing in grave quality the more famous tower of St. John's, Glastonbury.

#### MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

**ALFRED MELLON'S PROMENADE CONCERTS, EVERY EVENING, at Eight.—ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, Covent Garden.—Mlle. Carlotta Patti. Band of 100 Performers.—M. Lotte, the Polish Violinist, will appear on Monday. On Tuesday next, a Grand Selection from Gounod's Opera, "FAUST." On Thursday next, a Beethoven Night.—Admission, One Shilling.**

#### CATHEDRAL SERVICE AT SPIRE.

Spire, Aug. 15, 1863.

THAT a disappointment on a journey may chance to be the cause of an unexpected pleasure, I have found more than once. The other day being balked by the drought, at Treves, in a design of going down the beautiful Moselle, there was no alternative save to make for Mannheim by rail, and to use the new line, which for some distance follows the valley of the Saar. Betwixt Treves and Saarbrücken, and again betwixt Kaiserlautern and Neustadt, the scenery through which one is hurried exceeds in the accidents of wooded hills and tempting valleys, and fine pieces of red rock and quaint villages (one or two ruins not wanting), that of any railroad by which I have travelled, the unique line over the Semmering, of course, excepted. Then any one may be thankful for the chance which has brought him into acquaintance with the Cathedral of Spire, beyond question one of the noblest, if not the noblest Romanesque interior in Europe. Its position, as commanding the principal wide street of the old town, is only rivalled by that of the *Dom* at Würzburg; but it has the further advantage of standing detached, like our own cathedrals, or surrounded with a garden. Outside, the simple, colossal and symmetrical grandeur of the design is evident in the front, the transepts, and the apse, which declare what the building must have been ere it was mauled and battered by the thoughtless French soldiery. Within, all is perfect and complete, the absence of double side-aisles being almost compensated for by the length, breadth and height of the nave, with its admirable composition of two arches, and as many windows forming one compartment (consistently carried out in the transepts),—by the picturesque effect of the choir raised some twenty steps, and by the cavernous doors of the large and sombre crypt, to which as many steps descend,—by the grandeur of the octagonal cupola, and the vista broken, but not destroyed, by the baldachin above the high altar. Most imposing, too, is the vestibule, a feature rare in German cathedrals—lofty and ample, with its tall white statues of Kaisers, niched, in fretted gold, its preparatory effects recalling the impression made at Rome, beneath Giotto's "Navicella," before the curtain is pushed aside, which discloses the splendour of St. Peter's. In brief, the Cathedral at Spire, was a surprise; as a building eminently worthy of study, and not merely as a specimen of ancient construction, but also of modern church decoration. This last has been taken in hand with liberality and completeness. The grand front and vestibule have been restored, by facing them with bands of cool, pale red sandstone, and alternated with others of cool yellow, white, and cream colour mixed, which almost represent to the eye the play

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of variegated marble. The same happy combination is repeated in the pavement throughout the church. There fresco-painting, as the Germans practise it, and gilding and polychromy, have been combined, most judiciously, so as to make a painted church of its kind and country truly remarkable. I was not enraptured by Herr Schraudolph's Biblical compositions; but, then, I dared to be heretical some years ago, when Munich art was the rage, concerning the pictures by Hess, in the Basilica at Munich. Perhaps, the entire effect may be too pale (not gay) for so severe an architectural composition. Nevertheless, the arrangement and variety of colour, sober and bright, lavished everywhere, with no bald patches, and no corners slurred over—the graceful fantasy of many of the arabesque designs called me away from the Rhine-land, to another climate and another building,—to the "Golden Shell" of Palermo, and the Cathedral of Monreale, the most splendid and costly-painted church in Europe. There was a morning Church Festival when I was at Spire. The singing of hymns by men's voices alone, was very good, the leading part, or tenor, being clear of the German vice of throaty force. The organ, though well played, is but of mediocre quality; the tones are dull and woolly, yet have that vibration which indicates that the bellows are not sound, as bellows should be. C.

**MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC GOSSIP.**—At this time of the year, when every one who can escape from London does so, such matters as travellers pick up form naturally the principal feature in the talk of the hour. Here are a few scattered notes from Germany.—

Herr Litolf's opera, produced at Baden-Baden,—at the time being a busy centre of operatic creation,—will disappoint those who have expected much from it, being feeble in idea and bombastic in style. This does not surprise us, from our knowledge of his Pianoforte Concertos, and his long-drawn and extravagant 'Robespierre' overture.—M. Benazet lends an ear to the "music of the future," having just given to please its votaries Herr Wagner's 'Tannhäuser,' that comic Shakspearian opera, in which, with all its writer's ingenuity, the comedy is "straitly shut up." The 'Beatrice and Benedict' of M. Berlioz has also been revived. Why not have kept the original title, 'Much Ado about Nothing,' so admirably close that define the style of the music to which the deformed, transformed version of Shakespeare's comedy-drama is set? The names belong to the English dramatist; but the shrewd French critic has contrived to discharge all the wit, and to destroy parts of the meaning of the original play. The inanity of the dialogue between "Lady Disdain" and Signor Montanto—the abolition of *Hero's* story, making her presence in the drama superfluous—the thrusting among the characters an Italian singing-master, merely that two choruses and some silly talk about music may be dragged in, and the total absence of situation, are strange faults as occurring in the work of one so sarcastic on the platitudes and 'licences of brother-librettists as M. Berlioz. In his musical distribution of the work (to speak this time from experience, not hearsay), there are similar awkwardnesses—such as two long-drawn choruses behind the scenes—in the instrumentation, a too frequent recurrence to such devices as the mute on the violin-strings, which, when used too frequently, must weary the most delicate ear. Yet, there are points in the opera such as the *stretto* in the duet between *Beatrice* and *Benedict*,—the two-part *notturno*, which is deliciously scored that on the stage it does not (as in the concert-room) sound too long—and the opening and close of *Beatrice's* grand scena in the second act, which tell what their writer could have done had he not started perversely, mistaking confusion for depth and ingenuity—had he not become too fixed in the habit of so doing it may be feared to be now capable of cure. The opera is a work to be heard once with attention by every liberal musician, but which few will be tempted to hear twice. The execution this year is sufficient to give a fair idea of the music, but nothing more.—Madame Charton-Demeur's share in it excepted, which is

graceful, expressive and vocally sympathetic (to employ the Italian phrase). She has gained greatly since she last sang in London. Thus much concerning a work which has naturally excited curiosity. But M. Benazet's management has arrows of every form and date in its quiver.—Madame Viardot, now a resident at Baden-Baden, has given one performance of her *Orpheus*.

While talking of this district, which in late summer teems with music, we may say that the Mannheim play-bills show a serious constancy to such hackneyed serio-comic works as 'Martha' and 'La Dame Blanche.' Two small vaudevilles for two singers (one the sequel to the other) by Herr S. Lachner, are the only novelties that figure in the list. What has become of Herr Pauer's opera, which was to be given there? Other signs of health and pleasure present themselves in every newspaper of the Palatinate, taking the form of excursions by the Singing Societies to one or other of the many lovely haunts in which the district abounds. But the composer has still to be found.

Mdlle. A. Patti is playing and singing her way through Germany along paths strewn with gold. Some of our contemporaries profess themselves to be outraged at the sums this young lady receives. She is engaged to M. Bagier for Paris and Madrid, they tell us, at 1201, for each performance. Let us remind them that they have chosen to present her to the public as a first-class singer—the equal of Malibran, Mesdames Grisi and Persiani, having an added charm of her own—that of youth. If they be right in their estimate (to which we have never subscribed) they are wrong in their logic, by which she is proved to be exorbitant. Setting aside the known fact, that first-class singers are becoming rarer and rarer every day, Mdlle. Patti is not paid more than Malibran—not so much as Mdlle. Lind—but a little in excess of *La Bastardella*, who, in Burney's time, when he was managing the concerts at the Pantheon (this was eighty years ago or thereabouts), received 100 guineas nightly, for two songs! "False gods are made by fanatics," says the poet, but the fanatics do ill to cry out against the worship of the idols which "themselves have made."

Prof. Hesse, of Breslau, is dead, aged fifty-nine, the second-greatest organ-player in Germany—Herr Schneider, of Dresden, being still alive. Hesse wrote for, as well as played on, the organ; but his writings, so far as we know them, are poor, dry; if mechanically valuable as showing off tricks of the hands and feet, in idea not up to the level of even the writings of Rinek.

Now, a word or two from France:—There is now a rumour that Mdlle. Tiétiens is to try her fortune at the Grand Opéra of Paris—as usual to be the *Africaine* in M. Meyerbeer's opera—about the fifteenth *prima donna* who has been invested with that visionary honour. It is said that 'Les Troyens,' by M. Berlioz, already in rehearsal at the Théâtre Lyrique, will not be produced before the close of November. The opera, originally written in five acts, proves so long that the first two-fifths—if we mistake not, containing the prophecy of *Cassandra*, and the entry of the wooden horse—are to be retrenched; the story virtually confining itself to the wanderings of the Trojans. M. Soustelle is engaged at the Grand Opéra, where a tenor is much wanted. M. Villaret, the ex-Orphéoniste, proving to be a voice, and little besides. The substance of a letter by M. Ernest Feydeau, addressed to a French theatrical journal, concerning the death of poor Mdlle. Emma Livry, may be given for the refreshment of those who collect instances of presentiment fulfilled. Six months before her accident by fire, M. Feydeau had planned a novel (he says) entitled 'Le Mari de la Danseuse,' since published, in which the heroine perishes by a similar catastrophe. He applied to Mdlle. Livry for information as to the technical terms of her art necessary to be introduced, telling her the plot of his novel. "It must be frightfully painful to die by fire," said she, "but, after all, it is perhaps the fittest death for a *dansuse*." The French paper goes on to mention the systematic opposition made by the sylphs and butterflies of the opera to the Carteron process, by which light tissues are rendered incombustible, but also loses some of their

snowy whiteness, and adds that among the most perversely rebellious against such precautions was this ill-starred Mdlle. Livry, praising her obstinacy as a protest in the cause of high art.—A Countess Batthyany, born an Apraxine, who has been playing under a false name in provincial theatres, will shortly appear (it is said) at the Théâtre Français in high classical tragedy.

#### MISCELLANEA

**Outlet of the Nile.**—May I venture to offer a different solution to the phenomena of three exits to Lake Victoria from that given by your previous correspondents. I must premise that it does not positively appear from Capt. Speke's communication to the Royal Geographical Society, as reported in the *Athenæum* (No. 1861, p. 843), that the gallant Captain saw the Mworango and Luagéré outlets; but it is difficult to understand how he could have proceeded to Murchison Frith without crossing the former, or to the Ripon Falls without crossing the latter, which he must also have crossed again on his way back to Kari. Kamrasi's Palace is marked on the map as at or near the junction of the Mworango and the White Nile. It is presumable, therefore, in the absence of the details, that Capt. Speke likewise determined that junction. Admitting, then, the existence of several outlets to the Victoria-Nyanza, I think the phenomenon may be explained from the fact of that lake being in a transition state with regard to its supply of water. Capt. Speke (*Athen.* report) says, "The bed of the Nyanza has shrunk from its original dimensions, as we saw in the case of the Nzige Lake; and the moorlands immediately surrounding are covered with a network of large rush drains with boggy bottoms, as many as one to every mile." This being the case, and the lake having been formerly of much greater extent than it is at present, it may be now at that point at which three outlets, out of what was once part of the lake itself, and then perhaps a morass with many drains or outlets, remain. It is obvious, as Col. Greenwood has pointed out (*Athen.* No. 1862, p. 19), that an outlet is always sinking from erosion, which prevents the tendency to more outlets. When the rocks which constitute the existing bar or dam at Ripon Falls shall have been eroded down to the level of the bed of the Mworango at its exit, the waters of the lake will cease to flow through that channel, as they may, in the course of time, have likewise ceased to do with regard to others; and when the same dam shall have been eroded down to the level of the bed of the Luagéré, also at its exit, then the waters will also cease to flow through it, and the Napoleonic Channel will alone remain. Phenomena of this kind are frequently observed with regard to lagoons, although not hitherto detected in lakes of magnitude. The existence of an outlet at either extremity of a lake, of which your correspondents have adduced examples, does not bear upon the precise points in question. It is further questionable if the condition of the lake does not vary much at different seasons, and if, during the prevalence of tropical rains, there is not a wider extent of lake and morass, with more outlets than three, as seen in the low season between the Uganda shore and the Karuma Falls in Chapi. Capt. Speke will, no doubt, furnish further details as to the probable former extent of Lake Nyanza. From the position of the three outlets it would certainly appear, according to the view above expounded, to have extended to the Karuma Falls. The river is described by Capt. Speke as flowing in Unyoro "through long flats more like a lake than a river." This is where "it was increased by the contribution of the Kaffu (Kari?) and the Luagéré (Capt. Speke says elsewhere, the Mworango is called Kari in Unyoro). If this was the condition of the lake in olden time, it will explain the information obtained by Herodotus and by Nero's centurions, of the river having its sources in a vast lake or morass, from which it issued forth between two rocks or mountains. (I have not the original by me, but Cary has "mountains"—'Euterpe', 28; and Seneca "two rocks"—'Quæst. Nat.' lib. vi. c. 3.) The connexion between the actual name of the district (Chapi) in which the Karuma Falls

occur, with the Crophi of the registrar of Minerva's treasury at Sais—Herodotus's informant—is very curious, and not a little suggestive. And then we have again Little Luta Nzige Lake, flowing into the Nile, between Chopi, Koshi and Madi. The pronunciation of the vowels *a* and *o* are often confounded by uneducated Orientals, and Mâli or Modi may represent the Mophi of olden times. This would point to the Great and Little Luta Nziges having been once one lake, having their outlets at the Karuma Falls, till when, Ünoro being left dry, the Little Luta Nzige was confined to its deepest basin, and to a separate outlet not yet determined. If this were the case the Victoria-Nyanza would be Ptolemy's western lake, and Lake Barinju the same geographer's eastern lake, and not the Victoria-Nyanza the eastern, and Little Luta Nzige the western, lake. This view of the matter is however militated against by the fact, that it is not at all likely that the Alexandrian geographer would have described two sources; one flowing from Mount Mfumbira, and the other from Mount Kenia, as both having their origin in the "Mountains of the Moon." Either Mfumbira or Kenia must represent the *Selene oros*—not both.

W. F. AINSWORTH.

\* Ravenscourt Villa, Hammersmith.

*The Queen's English.*—You will, I trust, not refuse me an opportunity of a brief reply to your Correspondents of August 8—"J. Manning, Q.A.S.," and "Purley"—on the subject of my former letter. Of these gentlemen the first-named, I am happy to find, admits the correctness of my views; agreeing, however, with "Purley" in wishing to establish, in favour of generally-adopted errors, a Statute of Limitation, which would, at once, naturally suggest the Sorites, "*Quotus annus, &c.*" "Purley" asserts, rather dogmatically, that "*hallucination and sollicit* are correctly written," but forgets to offer any philological proof that he is right and I am wrong. I cannot discover any principle or analogy in his favour, which would not also justify us in writing *halluion, hallocution, hallegation*, and other such Cockneyisms, and in spelling *suffer* and *support* with single, instead of double, consonants. His defence of *regatta* is more ingenious, being founded on the absurdity prevalent in the English, alone of all languages, of ignoring the first vowel, and, I may add, of pronouncing the second as the third, and the third as a diphthong. I cannot, under these circumstances, perceive why I am "unfortunate in selecting examples," or even nearly so unlucky as he is in objecting to *chicory*, and preferring *succory*, as the translation of Virgil's *intyba*, of which the Latin synonym is *chicorea* (Horace, Carm. I., xxi., 16). Still less can I understand why he would have "grammatical rules swept away"; or, what there is in the "genius," as it is called, of the English language, that, in some instances, delights in superfluous aspirates and consonants, and, in others, dispenses with those which etymological analogies should lead us to retain. Though such errors in a language may "not impair its power," they mar its beauty very considerably, and are like those small discords in music which are, perhaps, imperceptible to the ears of the obtuse. After all, the question between "Purley" and me seems to be merely that between a phonographic and an etymological theory of spelling. He appears to prefer the former: I should rather advocate the latter, which has the advantage of keeping in view the original forms, and consequently the derivations and primary significations of words.—To the errors I have already noticed, you will probably allow me to add those of misplacing the phrases *also, only, and not only* in almost every written and printed sentence where they occur; of transforming the word *bombycine* (Latin adj. *bombycinus*) into *bombazeen*, or *bombazine*, according to the fancies of silk-mercers, and of spelling such words as *sotacism, economy, phenomenon, Egypt, &c.* with single vowels, instead of diphthongs indicating the original *oi* and *ai*.

H. OWGAN.

Clifton, Aug. 8, 1863.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—N. E. K.—W. H.—P. M. H.—K.—M. W.—G. M. O.—T. B.—Indagator—Constant Reader—W.—J. G.—H.—received.

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Paris, of indigestion and torpidity of the liver, and of the  
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and vomiting."—Maria Jolly. Cure No. 1,911: Miss Elisabeth  
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ousness, indigestion, gatherings, low spirits, and nervous fancies.  
Cure No. 8,481: the Rev. James T. Campbell, Falkenberg,  
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# JAMES L. DENMAN, WINE MERCHANT,

65, FENCHURCH-STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

DIRECTS ATTENTION TO

## THE WINES OF HUNGARY.

"No life without phosphor."—Vide Dr. KLETZINSKY, pp. 15 and 16, of WINE REPORT for 1863.

### WHITE WINES.

Admirably adapted for dinner, being light, pure, dry, and free from acidity, combined with the full high aroma of the Rhine wines.

	(Bottles included) per Doz.
Villany Muscat	20s.
Badasconyer	24s.
Pesther Steinbruch	26s.
Somlauer Auslese	28s.
Dioszeger Bakator	30s.
Ditto ditto Auslese	32s.
Hungarian Hock	30s.
Ruszte (rich)	40s.
Szamorodny (dry Tokay)	42s.

Any of the above in Pints, 4s. per Two Dozen extra.

### RED WINES.

Possessing all the characteristics of the finer sorts of French Claret, and containing great body without acidity.

	(Bottles included) per Doz.
Visontsere	20s.
Adlerberger Ofner, recommended	24s.
Menes, exceedingly stout and full-bodied	28s.
Erlaure, high-flavoured ditto	28s.

Any of the above in Pints, 4s. per Two Dozen extra.

### SWEET WINES.

Meneser Ausbruch	42s.	Tokay Bottles containing 5 Gills.
Tokay-Imperial	72s.	
Ditto ditto Die Krone	96s.	

HUNGARY.—The equitable re-adjustment of the wine duties finally made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitting wines below 36 deg. of spirit instead of 18 deg. as first enacted, has enabled me to import and supply the stout and superior growths of this country without any advance in price, and it is with increased satisfaction that I announce the cordial approval of those of my friends who have tried them. All writers on the capability and resources of Hungary express their surprise at the quantity annually produced, being no less than 360 millions of gallons, constituting her one of the largest wine-growing regions in Europe; and it is further deserving of remark, that Hungary and Greece are the only countries of any note that have hitherto escaped the oidium. The character of the red class may be described as a stout Burgundy, with a full Claret flavour, and generally they are stronger than either French or Rhenish wines. The main reason for this may be sought in the species of grape, in the peculiarities of the soil, in the exceptional climate of the country; and finally, perhaps, in the fact that in Hungary the vineyards occupy the sunny slopes of high elevation.

The very general interest manifested by my statements regarding the specific character of the Hungarian wines has induced me to obtain still further particulars respecting them, and I feel much pleasure in exercising the privilege afforded me of submitting to your notice the following analysis of various wines undertaken by Dr. Wm. Kletzinsky, an eminent analytical physician of Vienna, with a view, if possible, to supplement from other sources the useful qualities of Malaga wine. He informs us that "The rather considerable ingredient of phosphate of ammonia in Malaga wine is one of the causes which secured for it the great celebrity it possesses as to its intrinsic worth; and from the undoubtedly great nutritive powers of the phosphate upon the system of the nerves, bones, and muscles, it can easily be understood why Malaga wine became almost the only one officially acknowledged to be the wine for convalescents. During a succession of inquiries into the definition and quantity of the free acid, the extract, and the alcoholic percentage of some warranted-genuine sorts of wine, I discovered that the phosphate of magnesia always forms an essential part of the wine, without any difference as to the country or year of its growth, its standing-place, goodness, or age; but that the quantity of the phosphoric salt in the wines is subject to important variations, in a sure and direct proportion to the degree of the goodness of the wine; so much so, that the quantity of this salt affords, perhaps, a surer test of the goodness of the wine than the analysis of the extract or the alcohol itself. Heretofore, we have had heavy wines, possessing a high quantity of extracts; strong wines with high quantities of alcohol; light wines with a scanty extract; and weak wines having only a little alcohol. Each of these categories had its rightful designation and its dietetic circumference. To the arthritic patient the heavy wines would be fatal; for the sufferers from calculi it would be as dangerous to use wine of an oxalic sourness, as for those affected with tubercles the strong wines. Now, to these three main principles has been joined a fourth—the quantity of the phosphate. The phosphor is for the organic nature such a precious element that everything able to furnish it should be held worthy of being encompassed within the halo of its own bi-chemical glory. The relative contents of phosphor in the wine must, therefore, influence aright the judgment as to its dietetic merits in general, and especially its therapeutic indication.

"As to the nature and degrees of diseases in which the use of wines rich in phosphoric acid are proved to be most beneficial, it is particularly in the convalescence from typhus, exhausting perspirations, the so-called *adynamia*, and the immense number of those multinomial chronic pains which chemically originate from the deprivation of the body of the phosphoric acid, and slightly affecting the system of the bones or the muscles, the glands and fibres in scrofulous persons, or even the periphery and central system of the nerves. These diseases never can be cured by calcinated oyster-shells, bone-ashes, osteolith, apatit, or the mineralogical phosphorite, or by any other kind of an organic phosphoric acid or cold application. The doses of all these bodies would pass through and leave the intestine quite untouched, without effecting a resorption, still less an assimilation."

The wines quoted in the following table were examined as to—1 deg. their extent; 2 deg. their strength in alcohol; 3 deg. their per-centage of phosphoric acid.

Name of Wines.	Specific weight.	Extract o/o	Alcohol o/o	Phosphoric Acid o/oo
Brünnner Strasse (Austria)	0.9945	1.98	9	0.57
Veslau do.	0.9943	1.75	11	1.12
Hockheim	0.9998	3.65	10	1.72
Cincinnati (U.S.)	0.9942	3.12	12	1.56
Château Lafitte	0.9991	3.72	12	2.02
Cape Wine	1.0029	20.12	15	2.15
Tinto di Rola	1.0732	21.57	12	2.25
Champagne	1.0083	4.57	7	1.27
Santorini (Greece)	1.0025	5.22	12	3.26
Madeira (straw wine)	1.0081	8.52	22	3.75
Sherry	1.0017	6.28	18	3.72
Cyprus	1.0331	8.76	12	3.25
Buda (Hungary)	0.9981	3.24	11	3.75
Erlaure do.	1.0127	6.24	10	3.69
Ofner do.	0.9983	3.25	11	3.74
Malaga (finest quality)	1.0541	16.15	16	4.12
Menes (Hungary)	1.0296	11.17	10.5	4.52
Tokaj, 1827, do.	1.0257	10.15	11	4.89
Tokaj, 1834, do.	1.0316	11.23	11	4.98

Such are the valuable demonstrations of Dr. W. Kletzinsky, and their announcement occasioned a strong sensation among the medical men of Germany. It attracted notice from the Baron Liebig, the greatest authority in modern chemistry, who writes thus:—

"Not long ago I read Dr. Kletzinsky's analytical article, and my belief is that the Hungarian wines, whose generous qualities I fully appreciate, have over other wines a particular restorative virtue, to be attributed to the phosphoric acid which they contain. In a dietetical point of view, it must be taken into consideration that the Hungarian wines are generally richer in alcohol than the Bordeaux wines."  
(Signed) "J. LIEBIG, M. Pr."

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JAMES L. DENMAN, WINE MERCHANT,  
AND SOLE CONSIGNEE TO THE SOCIÉTÉ VINICOLE DE L'ARCHIPEL GREC,  
65, FENCHURCH-STREET, E.C., LONDON.

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